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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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14 January 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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TRADE UNION STAND ON NEW ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT FORMS

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 9, 10, 11 Nov 84

[9 Nov 84 p 7]

[Text] At its 17 April 1984 session the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party took a stand concerning the tasks of a further development of the economic guidance system. In recent days--after broad preparatory work--the Council of Ministers established the guiding principles necessary for uniform execution. The National Council of Trade Unions--as a resolution of the most recent plenum emphasized--agreed with the stand taken and will support its implementation with the work of the trade union movement. It is doing this because the goals coincide with the fulfillment of the dual task of the trade unions, for the basic goals of economic guidance are increasing economic performance, improving efficiency, liberating new energies and creating better conditions for the work of collectives and individuals. These goals are linked to the most important requirements of economic policy, improving the quality factors of management, consolidating the economic balance, protecting the standard of living and laying the foundations for raising it.

In our issues for today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow we will describe the new enterprise leadership forms, the legal and authority spheres of the corporate leadership and the new democratic forums, the modalities for creating the new leading bodies and the role and tasks of the trade unions in this.

Our goal is to provide a swift orientation so that the workers, trade union bodies and officials can participate in a prepared way in the planning, decision making and execution processes which are accompanied by increased responsibility and greater independence and in the exercise of their broadening rights.

The basic goals of the changes can be summarized as follows.

It has become necessary to make it possible for new internal guidance forms to develop in the great majority of the enterprises.

The economic guidance functions and the functions connected with operating state property are to be separated.

The decision-making rights of the working collectives, the assumption of risk and, in connection with this, responsibility are being expanded in management, and simultaneous with this there is to be efficient participation of the system of tools and forums in leadership.

In accordance with the goals the law--in addition to the present enterprise leadership form working under the general guidance of a director--will make possible two new forms, enterprises guided by an enterprise council and enterprises guided by a general meeting of workers or a meeting of their delegates.

#### The Antecedents

In November 1983 the Council of Ministers discussed a presentation by the chairman of the National Plan Office concerning the upcoming tasks for a further development of economic guidance--the economic mechanism--and adopted a document titled "Chief Directions for a Further Development of the Economic Guidance System" as a program for further work. The document contained a definition of the theoretical frameworks for further work and a development of concrete proposals serving to realize the principles which provided suitable orientation for the legislative activity of the final phase and for the activity which would determine the concrete magnitudes of regulation.

Seven work committees were formed to work out the proposals. Representatives of functional and branch guiding authorities, of various interest representations, including the National Council of Trade Unions, and of scientific institutions as well as experts dealing with special questions and the leaders of a number of national large enterprises took part in the work of the committees.

The preparatory work done in the work committees and in the arbitration committee for economic guidance and a series of professional debates confirmed that the chief directions for a further development of the economic guidance system were well founded and could be realized in practice.

The proposals prescribed broad scale coordinated changes for 1985. At its 17 April 1984 session, making use of the preparatory materials, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party took a stand concerning the tasks for a further development of the economic guidance system on the basis of which the Council of Ministers established the guiding principles needed for concrete work in the interest of uniform implementation.

The direction of a further development of the economic guidance system formulated in the resolution justified a review of the system of links between economic guidance organs and enterprises, on the one hand, and of the internal guidance relationships of the enterprises, on the other, so that there should be a simultaneous improvement in the efficiency of central guidance and an expansion of the independence of the enterprises, giving scope to entrepreneurship.

## The First Step: Modifying the Enterprise Law

Law VI, 1977, concerning state enterprises and the implementing decree of the Council of Ministers define the basic rules for the contact between enterprises and economic guidance and the system of enterprise leadership.

The law--independent of the size of the enterprises or its activity and character, and through the rights of a director appointed by the founding authority--reflected a dependent, hierarchical status which today holds back the development of entrepreneurial behavior by the enterprises, does not adequately encourage healthy risk-taking and does not adequately ensure the development of the democratism of the enterprise's internal guidance system.

So the law had to be modified with content corresponding to the new requirements, preserving and strengthening those elements which had passed the test of time.

It is useful to start from those elements which provide a foundation for making concretely tangible those changes which will ensure the new guidance requirements.

According to the definition given by the law the task of a state enterprise continues to be to serve the general interests of society, planned, efficient, economical and profitable activity in its sphere of operations with which it must aid the realization of goals set in the national economic plans, thus contributing to satisfaction of social needs.

So one of the basic obligations of an enterprise is planned operations. In the course of its operation the enterprise must prepare an independent plan which is in harmony with the goals formulated in the national economic plan. The enterprises are obliged to prepare their plans in such a way that they will guarantee the realization of the decisions of the national economic plans affecting their activity and of the requirements expressed by means of the regulatory tools. In consideration of the fact that a state enterprise is not simply a state organ but also a collective of the enterprise workers--the law establishes--in the course of working out the enterprise plan the director or the collective leadership must take into consideration the interests of the community of enterprise workers too.

According to what is established by the law the state enterprise, as an economic undertaking established by the state, is obliged to conduct economical and profitable activity. A state enterprise manages independently with the assets made available to it from state property and with the manpower of the workers employed at it--on the basis of the regulations and in a sphere of activity defined by the founding resolution. Management, by its nature, includes the right and even the obligation to assume risk. In accordance with this the enterprise serves the realization of enterprise and social interests and satisfaction of social needs with responsible entrepreneurship suiting the economic conditions, taking initiatives and assuming risk.

## Profitable Operation Is Not Only a Right, It Is An Obligation

Profitable operation is not a secondary, one-sided enterprise right for state enterprises, it is a fundamental obligation of the enterprise to the state.

The law tries in a number of respects to increase enterprise responsibility. It refers to this in a number of places in accordance with this, but without regulating the legal system for holding it responsible.

This is why this responsibility system is so extensive and why the forms of the responsibility can be found detailed in other regulations (for example in the Criminal Code).

By having the law explicitly state the right and the obligation of the state enterprises to assume risk the feeling of security of the enterprises, and primarily of the enterprise leaders therein, is strengthened to a significant degree. Conceptually the assuming of risk can be accompanied, naturally, not only by an increase in property in enterprise management but by a loss of property too. By its nature, the assuming of risk must be rational, must suit the economic conditions, so the law does not defend irresponsible risk taking or wasteful management.

Earlier regulations emphasized only the economic function of the state enterprise when defining the tasks of an enterprise. It is a substantial step forward in this area that not only cooperatives but also state enterprises have social functions, naturally not in the same way and form as the cooperatives. The law has confirmed that it is also the task of the enterprise to promote the development of the ownership awareness, socialist life style and way of thinking and general culture of the workers, enriching their professional-political information and the satisfaction of their social and cultural needs. In accordance with this general basic principle the law aids the satisfaction of the welfare, social, cultural and sport needs of the workers within enterprise frameworks and under enterprise conditions.

The law has confirmed at a higher level an enterprise task already existing in practice--the obligation of the enterprises to cooperate in satisfying the needs of the local populace and in advancing the welfare-social, cultural and sport activity of the workers. A number of practical forms of this cooperation have developed in socialist contracts, associations and other forms of cooperation. (For example, building and operating a joint nursery, culture house or sports field). A need has arisen for the enterprises to be built in better than before into the development of the settlements. Thus the functioning enterprises or organizational units of them--in a way defined in separate regulations--are obliged to cooperate with the councils in a coordinated, planned development of the settlements and in satisfying the needs of the local populace.

The regional contacts of the enterprises are very important in the interest of discovering local initiatives, of undisturbed supply to the populace and of rational use of manpower.

## Rights and Obligations

When defining enterprise rights and obligations the law confirmed the stipulation that there must be a simultaneous increase in the efficiency of economic guidance and in enterprise independence. In accordance with this it states that the state enterprise operates on the basis of an interlinking of central guidance and enterprise independence. In the service of a more effective functioning of economic construction work the law satisfies a double requirement: On the one hand it increases further the efficiency of central guidance and on the other hand it increases the independence of the enterprises constituting the basic units of the economy. The emphasis is on creating at a higher level the optimal harmony of the two. Neither guidance nor enterprise independence is for us a goal in itself.

The suitable independence of the enterprises is not contrary to strengthening guidance or increasing legality supervision; indeed, they directly presume one another. Without enterprises capable of taking initiatives, capable of proper independence and capable of standing on their own feet, the efficiency of central guidance cannot be truly good either.

The first element of the interlinking of guidance and enterprise independence is that the state, in a way defined in this law and in other regulations, guides and supervises the management of the enterprise and other activity. The socialist state makes possible, primarily by means of the economic regulator system and authoritative prescriptions, the realization of social interests and goals defined in national economic plans in the operation of the enterprises. A two-sided legal relationship--consisting of rights and obligations--exists between the enterprises and the organization guiding the enterprise. Efficient economic guidance is not hindered but rather can only be strengthened if there are exclusive enterprise rights, if there are legal guarantees for the enterprises. Both the organizations guiding the enterprises and the enterprises belong to the state. They are constituent elements of a complex system of state organizations which can carry out their tasks only in a rational division of labor.

Independence, creating rights for the enterprises is not a goal in itself. The law states first of all that in the functioning of the enterprises and in the development of their economic contacts there is an obligation to try to see that this will aid the optimum harmony of social and enterprise interests. In some cases the social and national economic interests may be opposed and may clash with one another. The enterprise too is an organization which characteristically has a number of goals, has interests which deviate from one another, and in addition various group interests may exist at an enterprise. But it is absolutely necessary at both the guidance and enterprise level that a bid is made for the continual, rational coordination of various interests, which may involve clashes, a bid for balance in the realization of these interests. So, starting from the mutuality of enterprise rights and obligations, from their mutual effect, it regulates in detail not only the enterprise rights but also the obligations.

The law sets down clearly that the enterprise rights must be exercised in accordance with the principles of socialist management and in harmony with their socio-economic purposes.

The enterprise law very carefully attends to developing enterprise behavior which corresponds to socialist management ethnics, so the law especially emphasizes the unity of rights and obligations, partly with the character of a basic principle and partly in detailed provisions:

1. The enterprise can exercise every management right not taken from it by a regulation;
2. Taking into consideration the principle of a purposeful exercise of rights, the enterprise can exercise fully every management right unless a regulation limits the exercise of the right; and
3. The organs guiding the enterprises can intervene operationally in the management of an enterprise only in cases and with conditions established by the regulations.

The state enterprise manages with segregated base property. The right of independent management expresses the fact that the enterprise does not simply "operationally direct" or "manage" the property entrusted to it, rather--within its activity sphere--it actively possesses and uses it or disposes of it. Naturally all this does not affect the unity and indivisibility of state property in the constitutional sense. The state enterprise is independently answerable for its property obligations in regard to property belonging in its operational sphere; the state budget, on the other hand, is not answerable for what belongs to the state enterprise. The enterprise is obliged to see to the planned and economical use of the assets made available to it; indeed, the law also prescribes an obligation pertaining to the augmentation of these assets.

#### Property Independence and the Activity Sphere

Planned use of state property also includes the fact that the enterprise is obliged to keep records on the property released to it, the economic operations carried out and their results, to prepare balances and statements of production results, and to satisfy without fail its accounting and reporting tasks. In addition the enterprise is obliged to generate funds in a way set in the regulations. The funds are base property directed at a definite goal within the enterprise property and their purpose is defined. With regard to the fact that the generation of funds, preparation of balances, etc. are closely interdependent with the income-regulation system--and may change relatively quickly as a function of economic development--significant differences from this viewpoint may appear among the various economic types of enterprises. The enterprise law does not deal in detail with these questions, instead it entrusts them to various--primarily financial--regulations which may change fairly often.

When the enterprise is founded the enterprise property is entrusted to the collective. It is a fundamental obligation of the founding organization to see



that the enterprise is provided with tools suiting the activity sphere established by it.

The founding ministry or council establishes the activity sphere of the enterprise in the course of the founding process and these two organs are authorized to modify this in exceptional cases too, when economic interest dictates, adhering to the guarantees pertaining to founding an enterprise.

But when establishing this activity sphere as well the harmony of central guidance and enterprise independence must be realized. In accordance with this the law limits the scope of the activity sphere in certain respects--in defense of national economic interests. These cases are the following.

In the course of defining the chief activity the founding organization can designate in the founding resolution the conduct of all activity as the primary task of the enterprise. To the extent that such a primary task is forced into the background in the course of enterprise operations it counts as an abuse of enterprise independence and can be sanctioned.

The regulations can link the exercise of certain activities, as a chief activity or as a supplementary activity, to the issuing of some right or authoritative permit. In the absence of such a right or authoritative permit conducting the given activity is illegal.

Finally we must talk about operational intervention in enterprise management, about concrete directives from the authorities supervising (or founding) the enterprise. The law limits the giving of concrete directives to only a narrow sphere--in the interest of enterprise independence. It would not have been right to completely forbid such directives, for a way had to be provided for the economic guidance authorities to act appropriately in the interest of the swift and absolute realization of national economic interests. It must be emphasized that limiting concrete directives is not only an enterprise interest but also a general national economic interest, for constant petty intervention confuses the planned nature of enterprise production and holds back the development of factory democracy. And it is obvious that if the leadership must take into account constant modification of the enterprise plan it cannot properly organize enterprise production or the enterprise cooperation contacts and would not be capable of bringing the enterprise workers into planning or into execution of the plan.

According to the enterprise law the right to give a directive pertaining to the defined activity can come about if an interest of the national economy cannot be realized or cannot be realized to the required degree with economic tools. Thus if the question can be resolved with a general regulation or with economic regulators then a concrete directive cannot be issued. Only the leader of the supervisory organization of the enterprise can issue such a directive. Since the law refers explicitly to the leader of the founding organization this right must be regarded as a personal sphere of authority which can be exercised by, in addition to the leader, at most his deputy (ministerial state secretary, deputy minister, etc).

If a material disadvantage arises at the enterprise as a result of carrying out the directive (for example, if the enterprise is forced to break an already signed contract as a result of carrying out the directive and so the court imposes a penalty on it, etc) it is the position in principle of the law that the authority issuing the directive is responsible for eliminating this loss.

[10 Nov 84 p 7]

[Text] An Enterprise Operating Under the General Leadership of an Enterprise Council

The enterprise council (VT) is a body consisting of representatives of the enterprise leadership and delegates from among the workers; the director of the enterprise is also a member. The members representing the leadership are made up of the leaders of organizational units and other leaders delegated by the director as determined by the organizational-operational statutes.

The workers' delegates are elected to the enterprise council by a meeting of the workers or by a collective of the workers of the organizational units.

Concerning the size and representative proportions of the enterprise council the law basically refers to the organizational and operational statutes of a given enterprise, thus ensuring that the body should not be stereotyped but should have its own unique character.

It does establish, however, a few obligatory rules of theoretical significance which must be taken into consideration when drafting the organizational and operational statutes of the enterprise.

Thus, the upper limit of the size of the enterprise council is 50 persons, which had to be established in the interest of functionability.

We also find an obligatory rule defining the internal ratios for the composition of the representatives of the leadership which is intended to ensure that the proportion of members delegated by the director should not develop to the detriment of the representation of the organizational units.

Thus the law states that the director appoints and relieves some of the representatives of the enterprise leadership, the number of these is determined by the organizational and operational statutes, but their ratio cannot be more than one third of the representatives of the enterprise leadership.

Similarly, the law states that the organizational and operational statutes establish the number of delegates elected by the workers, but their ratio cannot be less than half of the people on the enterprise council.

The director must be counted as a representative of the enterprise leadership.

If the proportions included in the law are adhered to the composition of the enterprise council develops as follows: A minimum of 50 percent are delegates



of the workers; one third as the remainder is made up of the director and representatives designated by him; and two thirds of the remainder is made up of leaders of organizational units.

Let us clarify this numerically: If the total size of the enterprise council is 36 persons then 18 are workers' delegates, 12 are leaders of organizational units and 6 are the director and representatives designated by him.

The commission of the delegates elected by the workers is for a definite time, 5 years, but the law also provides for the possibility of re-election.

The delegates have a reporting obligation to those electing them and the possibility of recall is a guarantee that in the course of their participation in the work of the enterprise council they will represent the opinion of those electing them--the workers.

Every worker of the enterprise can take part in the meeting electing the delegates and every worker has the right to vote. One can be elected a delegate if he has had a work relationship at the enterprise for at least 6 months. Other conditions pertaining to the delegates can be established in the organizational and operational statutes.

In the event that the enterprise was established less than 6 months earlier, a work relationship with the legal predecessor of the enterprise must be included in the 6 month time limit.

The election of delegates is by secret vote, and he is elected a delegate who gets more than half of the valid votes cast.

If the election does not take place at an enterprise meeting, that is, if all the workers of the enterprise cannot be convened in a meeting at once at the same time, it is necessary to establish in the organizational and operational statutes which organizational units can elect one or more delegates.

The law also stipulates how frequently the enterprise council should meet and in the event of what conditions it is capable of making a decision. It also provides that a chairman and deputy chairman must be elected from among the members of the enterprise council; they have the task of convening council meetings and leading the discussion.

In regard to the person of the chairman and deputy chairman the law provides an exclusionary factor when it states that the director of the enterprise cannot be elected chairman or deputy chairman of the enterprise council.

It also states that representatives of the enterprise party organization, trade union and KISZ organization must be invited to meetings of the council, with advisory rights.

#### The Decision-Making Domain of the Enterprise Council

The decision-making rights of the enterprise council extend to strategic questions of operations and management; it does not take over the continual operational tasks of the enterprise leadership.

The decision-making domain in the enterprise council specifically includes:

1. Determination of the medium and short range plan of the enterprise;
2. Approval of the balance and statement on the production results of the enterprise;
3. A significant modification of the activity sphere of the enterprise;
4. Making significant decisions pertaining to enterprise investments, assumption of credit, issuing of bonds or handing over or taking over an organizational unit, money or tools of production;
5. Deciding on an organizational unit of the enterprise becoming an independent enterprise, establishing a subsidiary enterprise or participation in an economic partnership or association;
6. Establishing the organizational and operational statutes of the enterprise and, within this framework, defining the separate organizational units;
7. Making significant decisions pertaining to employment of manpower;
8. Defining the principles for distribution of the income which can be used by the enterprise;
9. Electing, obtaining reports from, relieving and rating the director and evaluating his work and exercising other employer rights over the director--with the exception of rights invested in the chairman of the council;
10. Transferring general leadership of the enterprise to a general meeting of the workers or to a meeting of delegates;
11. Deciding to disband an enterprise or unite it with another enterprise;
12. A decision in those questions which have been referred to its sphere of authority by a Council of Ministers decree or resolution;
13. The enterprise council adopts the organizational and operational statutes and elects and relieves the director of the enterprise.

#### Enterprise Guided by a General Meeting of the Workers

In the case of the form of an enterprise guided by a general meeting of the workers the law, using the proven solutions of the self-government system of cooperatives, invests the all-worker collective with the right of general guidance and prescribes election of the leadership.

In accordance with this area of authority solutions and operational mechanism of guidance are more differentiated than for enterprises guided by an enterprise council.

## The General Meeting

Every worker with a work relationship with the enterprise is a member of the general meeting. The director or--if he is prevented or if the election, obtaining a report from or removal of the director is on the agenda of the general meeting--a designated member of the leadership presides over the general meeting and conducts the meeting.

It is a general prescription of the law that the general meeting is capable of making a decision if at least two thirds of its members are participating.

The general meeting must be convened at least once per year or when one quarter of its members request it, giving the reason.

The organizational and operational statutes establish detailed rules pertaining to operation of the general meeting.

## The Meeting of Delegates

In the case of enterprises under the guidance of the collective the law makes it possible to have a delegate meeting instead of a general meeting. Use of the delegate meeting form is justified where the distribution according to sites, work performance or work time does not make it possible for every worker of the enterprise to take part in a general meeting at one place at one time.

The collective of the enterprise decides whether to exercise guidance directly or by means of representation. The decision must be included in the organizational and operational statutes.

It appears from the way the law is worded that it would not be useful for the founding resolution to take a stand in this question.

The number of workers, the number of organizational units and the regional distribution are known to the collective--as factors influencing the decision--so there is no need for a regulatory prescription or a decision by the founding organization.

The system and conditions for electing and relieving delegates to the meeting of delegates and the prescriptions for their reporting responsibility are essentially the same as the solutions developed for worker delegates to the enterprise council. Thus the delegates are elected for 5 years by organizational unit, or at the organizational units at combined meetings.

It must be defined in the organizational and operational statutes which organizational units elect one or more delegates. Here also every worker in a work relationship with the enterprise participates in the elections.

One can elect as a delegate--if the organizational and operational statutes do not provide otherwise or if other conditions are not established--anyone who has been in a work relationship with the enterprise for at least 6 months, an exception being if the enterprise was established less than 6 months earlier.

A work relationship with the legal predecessor of the enterprise must be counted in the 6 month time limit.

The election takes place secretly and the electing general meeting is capable of making a decision if at least two thirds of those entitled to vote participate.

The delegate reports to his electors about his activity yearly. The electors can relieve the delegate.

A representative of the enterprise party organization, trade union and KISZ organization participates in general meetings of delegates with advisory rights.

The area of authority of the general meeting of enterprise workers (or meeting of delegates) is as follows:

- determination of the medium range plan of the enterprise;

- approval of the balance and statement on the production results of the enterprise;

- a significant modification of the activity domain of the enterprise;

- deciding on an organizational unit of the enterprise becoming an independent enterprise, establishing a subsidiary enterprise or participation in an economic partnership or association;

- establishing the organizational and operational statutes of the enterprise and, within this framework, defining the separate organizational units;

- making significant decisions pertaining to employment of manpower;

- defining the principles for distribution of the income which can be used by the enterprise;

- electing, obtaining reports from and relieving the director and the leadership;

- transferring general leadership of the enterprise to an enterprise council, or from the general meeting to the meeting of delegates, or from the meeting of delegates to the general meeting;

- deciding to disband an enterprise or unite it with another enterprise; and

- a decision in those questions referred to its area of authority by a Council of Ministers decree or resolution.

It must be noted as a substantial difference from the area of authority of the enterprise council that the organizational and operational statutes can refer other matters, in addition to those listed, to the area of authority of the general meeting of workers.

The organizational and operational statutes can refer matters exclusively to the area of authority of the general meeting of workers alone. The exclusivity means that the organizational and operational statutes cannot refer matters to the area of authority of the enterprise council or the meeting of workers' delegates.

#### Leadership of an Enterprise Guided by the General Meeting

A leadership is elected for 5 years at the first meeting of the general meeting or meeting of delegates. The number of people in the leadership, its decision rights and the rules for its functioning must be determined in their entirety in the organizational and operational statutes of the enterprise--on the basis of the provisions of the law.

It is very essential to recognize that the worker collective gets the right of guidance and the leadership exercises exclusively the rights conveyed by the collective. Thus the organizational and operational statutes must satisfy two conditions in regard to the leadership. First that the most important decision rights are exercised exclusively by the general meeting in its own area of authority; but at the same time there must be an expression of the fact that the participation of the leadership in the organizational guidance of the enterprise should aid the leadership work of the director and not weaken the personal responsibility.

In the regulations the law omits a detailed definition of the decision domain of the leadership. By doing so it is the express goal of the law that a practice should develop which aids the creation in the organizational and operational statutes of local regulation pertaining to the decision domain of the leadership which best suits the conditions of the given enterprise.

At the same time the law does define a few questions which minimally belong to the sphere of authority of the leadership, thus:

- grading the director and evaluating his work;
- exercising over the director the employer rights not mentioned in the sphere of authority of the general meeting;
- determination of the short range plan of the enterprise;
- making significant decisions pertaining to enterprise investments, assumption of credit, issuing of bonds or handing over or taking over an organizational unit, money or tools of production--as defined in the organizational and operational statutes; and finally
- decisions in those questions which regulations refer to its sphere of authority.

#### State Guidance of the Enterprises

With the creation of the new enterprise guidance there necessarily had to be a change in the content of and organizational solutions for state guidance.

The most significant change took place in the supervisory system for enterprises operating under corporate guidance. Supervisory guidance and control comes to an end and in the future will be realized only in the case of enterprises under state administrative supervision.

Ending this for the new enterprise guidance types followed necessarily from the fact that the right of continuous operation of the state property goes from the founding organ to the enterprise.

#### Supervision of Legality

In the case of enterprises operating within the new guidance framework the legality of exercising ownership rights is a public interest which must be realized. Thus the law introduced for enterprises operating within the new guidance system forms a legality supervision similar to the supervision of cooperatives, economic partnerships and associations.

Supervision of legality has an organizational character and does not extend to control over prescriptions of a professional character pertaining to the enterprise; thus there is no financial or special authority auditing, the usefulness aspects of management are not examined nor is there an examination of individual matters in which there might be labor affairs disputes.

In the event that a violation of the law is established, the law provides the organization with a broad authority to act exercising legality supervision. Between the two extreme measures which can be taken--warning the director and abolishing the enterprise--there are many possibilities for supervision to weigh the seriousness and frequency of the violations, the precipitating circumstances and the entire situation of the enterprise.

#### Directives

Giving a directive pertaining to some definite activity of the enterprise is an exceptional form of the state guidance of enterprises--done in the general interest.

The law restricts giving a directive pertaining to some definite economic activity by stating that a directive can be issued in definite cases when the economic goal cannot be achieved by other means.

#### The Director

In the case of enterprises under state administrative supervision the form of guidance generally used thus far essentially survives. The director takes care of general leadership.

Those under state administrative supervision fall basically into two large groups:

--public works enterprises, and

--enterprises designated by the Council of Ministers.

[11 Nov 84 p 7]

[Text] After having described the new enterprise leadership forms we describe today several trade union tasks connected with the reclassification of the enterprises, the role of the collective contract in harmonizing interests and the veto right of the trade unions. We will return in the near future to the details of the cooperation of the new democratic forums and the trade unions.

The trade unions have--on the basis of an invitation--an initiative-taking and organizing role in conducting the first instance conversion to the new enterprise leadership forms; they participate in the work preceding the reclassification, in preparing for the election of the enterprise council, the leadership and director and the members of the meeting of delegates and the control committee and in the conduct of the elections.

The priority task of the trade unions now is active participation in the work preceding the reclassification. The founding organ--in agreement with the minister of financial affairs and requesting the opinion of the appropriate branch of industry (branch) trade union (in the case of council enterprises the county (or Budapest) council of trade unions) and the county (or Budapest) party committee--will take a preliminary stand by 31 December 1984 about the assignment of the enterprises, the expected time of the conversion and simultaneously will make a recommendation for modifying the organizational frameworks.

The reclassification of the enterprises requires a complex organizational review embracing production, trade and foreign trade alike. Simultaneous with the reclassification we must continue organizational decentralization or must help to see that every management unit functions in an organizational framework and form in harmony with market conditions as soon as possible.

#### Assigning the Enterprises

The preliminary assignment of enterprises takes place by considering the following factors:

The first thing is to define the domain of the enterprises under state administrative guidance. The essential criteria for the demarcation are the basic activity and size of the organization. In the future also the organizations belonging under state administrative guidance will be primarily those where it will be proper to maintain over the long run the constraint and monopoly of the given activity or service.

The number of employees in the organization and the internal structure of the organization are the basic factors for assignment to the new enterprise leadership forms. On the basis of this those enterprises whose personnel is approximately 500 persons will operate with the general leadership of a general meeting or meeting of delegates. But this limit is not rigid. In some cases even an enterprise operating with fewer than 500 persons may operate in the enterprise council form, for example if a given enterprise is operating at many regionally scattered sites.

The founding organization invites the opinion of the enterprise, of the enterprise collective, concerning proposals pertaining to modification of the organizational framework and the preliminary assignment. Naturally the workers will be able to take a worthwhile stand and make well founded proposals only if they are informed concerning the preliminary assignment of the enterprise, the essence of the new leadership forms, the proposals modifying the organizational framework, its purpose and, in the event of separate internal organizational units becoming an independent enterprise, about the financial consequences of their becoming independent.

So the first task of the enterprise organization of the trade union in connection with the conversion is to inform the workers about all these questions--in cooperation with the party and KISZ organization--if possible at direct place of work democratic forums (for example, production conferences or combined trade union membership meetings with the participation of all workers) and to ask for their opinions.

Up to 30 April 1985 the enterprise, knowing the opinion and proposals of the workers, can request assignment to a leadership form different from the proposal of the founding organization if it judges, on the basis of appropriately expressed arguments, that it could work more efficiently under, for example, the general leadership of an enterprise council instead of a general meeting or meeting of delegates. In addition, independent of the position of the enterprise, the separate internal organizational units (for example, factory, factory unit, site, plant or main department), or their collectives, precisely weighing the consequences of their proposals, can request a modification of the organizational frameworks, for example separation from the enterprise to become independent as a new enterprise or attachment to another organizational unit.

Following the feedback and after weighing the proposals of the enterprise or enterprise collective, the founding organ makes a final decision--in agreement with the minister of financial affairs and requesting the opinion of the appropriate branch or branch of industry trade union, in the case of council enterprises the county (or Budapest) council of trade unions and the county (or Budapest) party committee.

Every essential circumstance should be carefully weighed when developing the opinion and proposals of the branch or branch of industry trade unions or of the county councils of trade unions. In connection with a proposal pertaining to a modification of the organizational frameworks especially there should be a precise study of whether the given separate internal organizational unit could stand on its feet financially--in the event of independence--and how the property would be divided up. Attention should be given also to seeing that neither the parent enterprise nor the unit desiring to become independent should get into a disadvantageous situation vis-a-vis the other in the event of independence. One should also examine whether changing the organizational frameworks will mean employment problems, whether suitable leadership cadres are available, and whether the rules for thrifty personnel management will be realized. Last but not least, will the modification of the organizational frameworks really ensure more efficient operation, a higher level of products or services.



The founding organization will inform the enterprises about its decision in a communique appearing in the official paper of the branch (gazette or bulletin). Naturally this does not mean that with this the enterprise already enters the transitional period leading to a new leadership form; this can come about only following the issuing of a new founding resolution. Only then does the work of the enterprise trade union organization also continue.

Here are a few tasks--without trying to be complete--from the trade union activity connected with the creation of the leading organizations of the enterprises and with preparation for and conduct of the elections:

#### Trade Union Tasks

With regard to its outstanding significance we must mention first the organizational and operational statutes, called the constitution of the enterprise. Since establishing the organizational and operational statutes belongs to the area of authority of the enterprise council or the general meeting or meeting of delegates providing general leadership to the enterprise, the provisions of the draft of the statutes are an entirely new guide up to the formation of the leading organization or organization of the enterprise. That is, for example, the enterprise council will have the number of people defined in the draft of the statutes and the draft also determines the number of worker delegates in the enterprise council.

The regulations state that the number of delegates elected by the workers cannot be less than half of the personnel of the enterprise council. Thus, for example, in the case of a 32-member enterprise council the number of delegates elected by the workers must be set at a minimum of 16 persons, the other 16 persons are made up of the director and the representatives of the enterprise leadership. So the regulations set a minimum limit for the number of worker delegates, it cannot be less, but could be more. So it is in harmony with the spirit of the regulation if the number of delegates elected by the workers exceeds the number of representatives of the enterprise leadership--including the director. Sticking with the example of a 32 member enterprise council, the number of worker delegates could be set at 17 persons and the number of representatives of the enterprise leadership could be set at 15 persons.

One can see from this single example how important and essential a question it is that the trade unions take the initiative and be constantly present with their recommendations when drafting the organizational and operational statutes. The regulations also ensure inclusion in the course of the work since they provide that the committee designated by the founding organization, should develop the draft asking the opinion of the enterprise party organization, trade union and KISZ organization.

It is also a very important question which circle we think the worker delegates should be elected from and what criteria they must meet. Naturally, on the basis of consultation with the workers, we think of mature workers and experts and leaders who do not belong to the circle of representatives of the enterprise leadership as workers' delegates, people who have already won the respect and trust of their fellow workers with their work, professional knowledge, human

behavior and social activity and who are capable of representing the opinion of their fellow workers in the enterprise council.

In connection with this the question immediately arises what the correct procedure would be if the enterprise party, trade union or KISZ secretary were nominated for or elected to the enterprise council. The position is that it would not be proper to nominate or elect them because they participate in the sessions of the enterprise council with advisory rights. If other trade union officials suitable for it, other than the trade union secretary, are nominated for or elected to the enterprise council that is all right, but the trade union committee of the enterprise could decide that he should not hold his trade union office, in the interest of making it easier for the official.

Finally, in connection with preparation for and conduct of the elections, I would mention that the order for these (for example, the time for nominations and elections) is determined by the trade union organ of the enterprise, asking the opinion of the party and KISZ organization and of the committee designated by the founder.

### Collective Contracts

The new economic mechanism created the present system of collective contracts. Prior to this there were also collective contracts, but they were of a different type compared to those today. After the liberation, in a country being reborn, collective framework contracts and trade collective contracts based on them established the conditions for work--in addition to a small number of regulatory provisions. It was also possible in an individual branch of industry for a branch of industry collective contract (or, as an exception, a factory collective contract, due to the size or special character of the employing enterprise) to set the conditions for work of the employees.

This system remained until the first Labor Code (Law Decree No 7, 1951), which established in a regulation the implementing provisions--including the previous collective framework contracts--with the exception of the parts pertaining to wage conditions and wage payment. So in this way the obligatory prescriptions of high level regulations established the conditions for work, in general in a uniform way for everyone.

The factory collective contracts were transformed into an assuming of bilateral obligations by the directors and working collectives of the enterprises, which were directed at perfect fulfillment of the plans and at improving the material, welfare and cultural situation of those working there. With minor changes this system was in effect until 1968.

The Labor Code developed simultaneous with the introduction of the new economic guidance system provided for the signing of enterprise collective contracts. At this time they introduced, in place of the previous detailed central legal regulation applying to everything, a law containing framework provisions which--in addition to a few implementing rules--well served the independence aspirations of the enterprises with a new system for collective contracts. The past 15 years have proved the viability of the collective contracts, which in

addition made possible the most purposeful use of the enterprise's own resources and a responsible use of various incentives.

Of the local rules the most important as a legal institution is the rule of the Labor Code regarding execution at the enterprise level. In our society we cannot ignore the situation of the person doing the work or the security of the rights of the employee. The harmony of these two interests is produced by the system of enterprise collective contracts, which ensures at the local level--adjusting to the conditions and circumstances of the time--the possibility of establishing rules with the active, helpful participation of the workers affected.

By recognizing local interests and with an appropriate coordination of them the place of work organizations of the trade unions always had a crucial influence on the creation of the collective contract. They ensured those fundamental and determining living and working condition rights and obligations and worker interests which the workers need when fulfilling a work contract.

Further development of the economic guidance system has made necessary changes in the organizational form of state enterprises and modernized their internal life. The breakup of the "traditional" organizational framework of managing organizations, the "struggle" to acquire markets, etc, will encourage the enterprises, as employers, to set stricter conditions for employees. So we think that in the future the harmonization processes preceding the development of the collective contract must be made more effective, in harmony with the thinking directed at increasing enterprise independence.

According to the presently valid provisions the collective contract takes care of or can take care of the rights and obligations of employer and employees in connection with the work relationship in question and within the framework established in regulations by the labor affairs statutes. According to paragraph 1, Section 9 of the Labor Code as modified by law decree No 24, 1984, going into effect on 1 January 1985, in the interest of extending (expanding) the harmonization of interests: the collective contract or labor affairs statutes can regulate any question connected with performance of work, work and rest time, payment for work or other rewards going to the worker. The only limit on the regulation of the themes mentioned above is that the question to be regulated should not be in opposition to the regulations.

In other matters pertaining to the work relationship (such as establishing, modifying or ending the work relationship, disciplinary and material responsibility, labor disputes) local regulation continues to be possible only on the basis of authorization by the regulations.

Such an expansion of the existing institutional system of the collective contract could be suitable for there to be a substantive, real harmonization of interests between employer and employees or their representatives in all questions connected with the work relationship in the course of preparing to sign (or modifying) the collective contracts.

## The Veto Right

Independent of the leadership form of the enterprises the director will continue to sign the collective contracts in the name of the employer and the enterprise organ of the trade union will sign in the name of and representing the workers.

The veto right occupies first place among the trade union rights. In the recent period the trade union organizations have been able to make use of this right appropriately--in case of need. Today, in the event that there is no agreement and if the theme affects a group of workers or the entire collective, the superior organization of the employer and of the trade union passes judgment on the veto.

This rule is also good in regard to the new type enterprises, with this modification, that in these cases the organization exercising supervision of legality, instead of the "supervisory" organization, acts together with the superior trade union organization.

8984

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PROGRESS OF IDEOLOGY, ROLE OF PARTY, CLASSES REVIEWED

Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish No 30, 22 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Wladyslaw Loranc: "What and Who is Poland?"]

[Text] In the fervor of polemics a basic fact is customarily forgotten, namely, that in 1980 our country, which accounts for 0.8 percent of the world population, produced 2.5 percent of the world industrial output. Such is the overall aspect of the development processes which, following the successive stages of the nationalization of industry, industrialization of the country and modernization of the economy, resulted in a 14-fold increase in industrial output compared with 1938 and a sevenfold increase in per capita national income. We have simply attained a different civilizational standard compared with the situation in which the best Polish minds in the 1930's had been appealing for economic reforms, elimination of unemployment and salvation of the Polish countryside.

Without minimizing the mistakes committed in the economic policies, the partial failures in the course of socialist transformations, and the consequences of the economic crisis, which has mushroomed to an extent that menaces the stability of the social organism, it should be stressed that the objective conditions for a rapid return to the road of development and continuation of the process of building socialism have been preserved. This precisely was the conviction expressed by the National Conference of Delegates. The year 1933 [i.e., 1983] was, after a hiatus of 2 years, the first in which the performance of the economy was better than in the previous year. This fact reflects the efforts of the laboring people and represents a criterion for evaluating the party's economic policy. The halting of the trend toward a decline in production does not, however, mean that the situation has been finally mastered. It is still difficult, because we are underutilizing part of production capacities, low productivity and wasteful operation still persist at many plants, we are not yet capable of accomplishing the planned policy of modernizing industry, and we must maintain partial controls of staple goods. The significance of these facts should not be minimized when planning the country's short- and long-run economic

development. Such planning should focus attention on two fundamental problems: strengthening the system of the planned guidance of economic development with the instruments of the reform, and assuring an integrated development of industry and agriculture as the basis for the economy's stability.

The draft program should strengthen the conviction that surmounting the difficulties and returning to the road of development require a consistent implementation of the economic reform as the initiative of the party itself rather than abandoning the reform. As stressed by the political documents of the National Conference of Delegates, the reform should be strengthened by eliminating its deficiencies revealed so far and correcting the operation of its instruments. A skillful application of these instruments has to be learned. The disputes concerning the alternatives of for or against the reform are barren and will remain so regardless of the intentions of the discussants.

The opponents of the road of reform underestimate the fact that, in the practice of economic life, and particularly in the work process, people can verify most readily and rapidly, and directly as well, whether their efforts are rational and effective or whether they merely waste energy and are meaningless. Without day-by-day replicable and positive solutions in this respect, the practice of economic life will not be effective.

Certain advocates of changes, who interpret subjectively any difficulty entailed in applying the reform, appear to underestimate the fact that the purpose of the reforms, and not only the economic ones, which we undertook in this country is that the worker, the peasant and the member of the intelligentsia be provided with opportunities for building and creating rather than obstructing the solution of the fundamental task, namely, basing the whole of life on socialist modes of production. Reforms which afford to the individuals, and to socio-occupational groups as well, opportunities for throwing up obstacles are harmful reforms. They renew the worst traditions of the willfulness of the petty nobility and selfishness of the bourgeoisie. Reforms should integrate the society and facilitate the process of shaping its socialist nature.

Regarding the second of the abovementioned tasks, i.e., the integrated development of industry and agriculture, there is virtually common consensus about its cardinal importance. The disputes concern the ways and means of achieving this integration, and at present they focus on agricultural policy. The most often formulated alternatives, namely, those of "feeding the nation" or "[propagating farm] cooperatives," have to be regarded as based on fallacious premises. They are as illogical as the question, "Should one eat only, or should one drink only?" After all, the goal of feeding the nation cannot be attained unless facilities and the food-producing branches of the economy are first organized. It is justly said that priority should be given to meeting the food demand rather than to the question of the mode of ownership. The point is, how shall we interpret this principle, and what will it mean in practice? Of a certainty this cannot imply the petrification of the structure of modes of ownership existing in our agriculture, because that structure is bad as regards private farming and is a major factor that limits basing on modern technologies the process of food production. This is not a

politically unimportant factor either, because the slogan of US\$2 billion in [Western] credit and aid for private farming has been most explicitly designed to perpetuate the fragmented and backward structure of that farming. Consider what seems to be obvious: the question of the Constitutional amendment guaranteeing the permanence of private family-owned farms is in the nature of an obligation that eliminates all non-economic means, that is, political coercion or administrative measures, from agricultural policy. This amendment, which continues and develops legal traditions, influences the mentality of the peasant and stabilizes the atmosphere in the countryside, but it is powerless in face of economic laws and the differentiation of interests resulting from the operation of these laws. Consider the figures. Between 1970 and 1982 the number of farms measuring 10-15 and more than 15 hectares in area has been rising. The latter accounted in 1970 for 2.8 percent of the total number of farms, whereas in 1982 they accounted for 5.7 percent. On the opposite pole, the number of farms measuring 0.5 to 2 hectares in area has been rising also. The land area of socialized--state and cooperative--farms has been slowly growing, from 4,881,000 hectares in 1970 to 5,514,000 hectares in 1982. That is, regardless of the discussion of whether to "feed" or "propagate cooperatives" in our agriculture, economic laws continue to operate and follow a logic of their own. It is precisely this fact, rather than the dispute about the interpretation of tasks and methods, that should serve as the basis for program drafting. It is the political practice of organizing agricultural production that matters. The sphere of actual political tasks under the present circumstances, spelled out at the 9th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Committee, is determined by the need to strengthen the socialized farming sector so that, by representing the base of technical progress in the countryside, it would provide a barrier protecting the entire economy against the elemental market forces. The sphere of tasks is determined by the need to modernize peasant farming, not only with the object of making it productive--that being quite self-evident--but also in order to prompt it to pursue permanent contractual relations with the economy, and especially with the planned sector of the market. The criterion for evaluating any political measure should be not only its particular effect on production but also the state of the worker-peasant alliance, because this alliance was and remains the foundation of the socialist system in Poland, and strengthening this alliance is unusually difficult in the presence of an elemental interplay of economic laws that harbors the menace of anarchy in production, with all the ensuing social consequences.

As pointed out by Vladimir Lenin in his "The Childhood Disease of Leftism," the socialist society evolves "not from some imaginary human material, or from the human material we especially create, but from the material bequeathed to us by capitalism." An important momentum of theory in this respect was the article by Yuriy Andropov dealing with the teachings of Karl Marx, and particularly the following idea contained in that analysis:

To obtain the right to be the master is not the same thing as becoming a real, wise and provident master. The nation which has accomplished the socialist revolution must still for a long time master its new situation as the principal and indivisible



owner of the entire social wealth; it must gain its economic, political and, if necessary, psychological mastery by developing collective awareness and habits.

This statement draws our attention to the state of social awareness and the party's tasks in shaping it as an integral part of building the socialist system of society.

The awareness of the Polish society is the resultant of processes operating over a longer period of time than the last 10 years. Many factors have caused the awareness of our society to be particularly complex. The political struggle in recent years has caused the reemergence of many seemingly already forgotten illusions and myths--within the working class as well. These peculiarities of our situation draw attention to the importance of scientific thought. Theoretical thought, the basis of social awareness, is indispensable to shaping party policy. The proper determination of goals and the selection of the proper ways of accomplishing them are impossible in the absence of a scientific cognition of reality. The party's activity must be based on Marxist social knowledge, because only on this road can we curtail the danger of uncontrolled development or of mistakes in the socialist development of Poland.

Marxist social sciences at present should chiefly focus on five problems. These problems are: the state of the principal contemporary conflict, that is, of the conflict between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between capitalism and socialism; theoretical problems of the transition period in Poland; mechanisms of political and economic life, and particularly the problems of the party and state, as considered jointly with the problem of their development; the opportunities for and civilizational dangers to the development of the individual and the Polish society at the threshold of the 21st century; and the scientific foundations for shaping socialist social awareness.

The above tasks will not be solved unless, through the effort of the entire party, we assure for Marxism an appropriate standing in the intellectual life of our country. In the sphere of politics, we reject the principle of pluralism. In the sphere of social awareness, we respect the fact of the existence of different world outlooks, but as we see it, this does not mean that Marxism-Leninism is simply one of various theories. In the sphere of ideology this principle does not mean passiveness and absence of ideals. We could not have strengthened the decisive role of the working class in social life without conquering for our theory positions that correspond to the historic mission of workers.

Marxism-Leninism as the ideology of the working class is to play in social awareness a role comparable to that played by workers in social life. This means the need to struggle to strengthen the position of Marxism-Leninism in the country's intellectual life. Particular solutions in the party's long-range program should be subordinated to the goal thus interpreted. We know from experience that in the sphere of ideology the only lasting effects are those produced by ideological means. Scientific studies and solutions of theory are



decisive, and hence the problem of the cadre must lie in the focus of attention when planning socialist transformations in the awareness of the Polish society. It is difficult to expect improvements in the present unsatisfactory condition unless we effectively resolve the problem of the intelligentsia.

In principle, at present we can consider the stratum of the intelligentsia to consist of some 7.5 million persons, because that is the number of those with secondary or higher education. The intelligentsia's role is to serve the nation and the socio-occupational and -professional communities that create it. The vocation of the intelligentsia, which is educated in socialist schools and higher schools, and which largely originates from worker and peasant families, is to be active in behalf of strengthening the people's Fatherland by both developing the material foundations of its existence and shaping its own awareness and that of the entire society so as to make it capable of developing. Coping with this task depends on the consideration of several factors which we will discuss below, one after another.

As we see it, the prewar Polish state, the capitalist-landlord state, ceased to exist following the formation of the Government of National Unity in 1945. From the formal point of view, as well as from the standpoint of international law, this conviction is justified. The material side of the problem is somewhat different. During the years of preparations for the cold war several Western countries (the United States, France, England, and later also the FRG) simply bought out the entire assets remaining after the bankruptcy of that state. Its trained personnel and certain institutions became simply hired. On this basis, institutes such as the J. Pilsudski and W. Sikorski ones or the Literary Institute in Paris were built. Dozens of foundations were established. On this basis, [Radio] Free Europe and the Voice of America were built. It was thus that research centers and special service centers were established. The political postwar emigres, replenished by the waves of emigration in 1956, 1968 and 1980-1982, encountered an unexpected adventure. They were simply hired, basically en masse, as a kind of political and propaganda Foreign Legion for combatting the Polish state. Being linked by all sorts of ties to the homeland, they are not just to spread propaganda here but, day by day, step after step, to establish bridgeheads here. They are to create in reality two superstructures above the one base of the socialist society. In other words, a unique hybrid bourgeois Polish state exists in the West. It is this hybrid that poses to our intelligentsia abstract but absolutized moral and patriotic choices, intended to make it think in categories of Polishness rather than Poland, to be concerned about freedom of speech rather than freedom of creation, to comport itself as if the problems of imperialism, frontier revisions and experience with fascism were nonexistent and only and solely the problem of communism and of the consequences of its "premature" birth were existent. This is one peculiarity of the intelligentsia's situation.

The social origins of the Polish intelligentsia are eloquent. More than 60 percent of the intelligentsia derive from the countryside and from worker families. In selected professional communities this proportion is higher,

reaching about 80 percent (the party apparat, the professional military cadre, the officer corps of the MO [Citizens' Militia]).

These statistics, the fruit of the party's deliberate policies, are significant not only to the intelligentsia itself but to both principal social classes [workers and peasants]. The social status of the workers and peasants whose sons and daughters are scientists, engineers or officers has become different from that of their French or British counterparts. The barriers of worker ghettos have been demolished and materially stabilized elites eliminated. The prospects for egalitarianism in this country have become real, because the intelligentsia is not reproducing itself from within, which is of significance to our system of society. It appears though that this process has become markedly curtailed. One consequence of the crises has been the collapse of the ideological orientation of the Polish intelligentsia and a lessened awareness of its bonds with the communities from which it originates. A perilous renaissance of indoctrination in traditional culture and customs has set in. And yet, any reflection on the role of the intelligentsia in isolation from the process on which everything depends, that is, from the process of the emancipation of the working class, would be bereft of practical significance. The process of this emancipation is possible only in the presence of close bonds between the working class and the intelligentsia, and vice versa.

The maintenance of distortions in shaping the socialist awareness of Polish society is promoted by the slogan of the conflict between the authorities and the intelligentsia. This is a thesis having explicitly utilitarian functions, serving to open an artificial front of combat, create an artificial dividing line. The suggestion that a dividing line runs between the authorities and the intelligentsia presupposes that the political choice made by the entire intelligentsia is in favor of one side, which is untrue, and that the authorities, and above all the professional structures, do not belong to the intelligentsia, which also is untrue.

The suggestions of the existence of a conflict supplant the important and justified differentiation of such roles of the intelligentsia as the politician-artist and the politician-scientist, with a logically obscure differentiation between the authorities (that is, a category from the political domain and political organization of the society) and the intelligentsia (that is, a category from the domain of social stratification, a part of the social structure).

Particularly seductive is the oft-repeated thesis, which is also put forward in our Marxist community, that "the intelligentsia's access to power is blocked." The professional groups of the authorities, which are subject to control as in any other social organism, must in our country meet the requirement of a generally no longer secondary but higher educational background. Not only formal requirements of this kind are posed, but so are additional objective requirements as regards the understanding of political relations, of the special role of the working class, and promoting the advancement of the laboring masses. And in this country the accuracy of the thesis of a blocked access to power can be considered only from the viewpoint of the masses.

Thus the conclusion ensues that, in face of the political conflict between two camps, in face of the policy of confrontation, the Polish intelligentsia is behaving typically by choosing one of the tendencies, one of the orientations, and linking its activity and fate to it. The fact that a considerable part of the intelligentsia avoids making a choice does not detract from the realism of the appraisal. The point is that nowadays those who desire to set the tone are those who, in claiming the need to restore the elite position of the intelligentsia elites, desire in this way to maneuver the entire intelligentsia into the role of a force serving to rebuild the traditional nature of national culture, reverse the processes of democratization and create the conditions for the return of private ownership of means of production. The struggle is being waged not for a style of thinking but for a way of life, not for some special role of the intelligentsia but for strengthening the decisive role of the working class in the socialist development of Poland--a process in which the intelligentsia can only be an ally of that class rather than a decisive force. The principal weapon which we contribute to this struggle is the conviction that every healthy ambition of the intelligentsia and its individual members should be satisfied to a sufficiently great extent.

Were we to be beset by doubts as to whether this conviction is really important and needed in the process of restructuring social relations and defining the intelligentsia's role in this process, we should consider the following statement:

...It is said at times that nowadays we suffer shortages of not so much theory and ideology but of consumer goods or, figuratively speaking, bread. This is an untruth! The dilemma of "either-or" is nonexistent here. Both are necessary. The shortage of bread is traceable to, among other things, precisely arbitrariness and disregard of ideological principles, which in the last 15 or so months were exacerbated by demagoguery and an ideology of social destruction that is alien to socialism and the vital interests of the Polish nation.

The position of the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Gen W. Jaruzelski, strengthens the intelligentsia's just belief in the great importance of our professional activities. The point is what kind of knowledge we are contributing to social life, what values are we basing the awareness of the Polish society on, and what will be our contributions during the particularly difficult process of continuing and developing the new political thought of Polish democracy, a process commenced in 1943 and at present, following periods of great successes but also of failures, being developed in new [party] program documents....

We are building a program for the country's development, but we are not creating visions, for we are the political party of the working class rather than prophets; we are the organizers of the work and struggle of that class rather than missionaries. In outlining the development prospects of socialist

Poland, we must stand with our feet firmly planted on the ground. But this does not mean that we are free to equate the development program with the plan of action. Drafting a program requires complete awareness of the realities in which this program is grounded. This requires not only a thorough familiarity with the domestic economic and social realities; it also requires a like familiarity with the political, civilizational and cultural trends of the modern world.

The crisis of capitalism does not mean that the propertied classes have discontinued their resistance. The bourgeoisie is not waiting with its hands folded for the successive technological breakthroughs, such as the invention of microcomputers, to eliminate it from the stage of history. It is struggling, struggling against history, against its gravedigger the working class; it is not just struggling in opposition but also employing ideology, experience and wealth. Whenever possible, it undermines in a refined manner the awareness of the working class by presenting to it a tendentious picture of the world, particularly of the communist world. Or when the need arises, the bourgeoisie neutralizes society by resorting to the instrument of war, or through constant preparations for war. When this concerns losing the ground under its feet, the bourgeoisie resorts to solutions that are fascist in one way or another.

To us and to the working class this poses the complex task of coping with a broadly conceived responsibility. "The victorious class must be mature. The proof of its maturity must be not some certificate or identity card but experience and practice." Such was the standpoint of Lenin.

We are building our program under difficult conditions. The struggle transcends broadly the political sphere and extends to all other spheres of social life. We are observing a veritable flood of futurological theories promising some postindustrial paradise as well as appeals by various clubs [such as the Club of Rome] for halting development. The Church has discovered the special role of the working class, or rather, properly speaking, it has become aware of its growing role and is now hastening with offers of "the civilization of love," "evangelic reconciliation" and "ecumenical brotherhood," which should be viewed primarily as guises for the old slogan of the moral revolution being supposedly superior to the socioeconomic revolution, although it has not been feasible for the last 2,000 years. But these facts provide a warning against, in such a situation, limiting our program to economic and political solutions while at the same time disregarding the great anxieties felt by individuals and societies concerned over the fate of mankind's civilization--anxieties caused by the threat to the fundamental cultural values. These needs too must be met. And they too should be included when building the development program.

The party's long-range program is arising at a particular historical moment. The National Conference of Delegates has confirmed the party's course consonant with the decisions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress. The adoption of the declaration "What We Are Struggling For, Where We Are Going," which confirms the party's political intentions, creates favorable conditions for the work on the program. In that program we need not confirm intentions or

repeat questions. We should, as noted previously, formulate the answers indispensable to active endeavors and the practical solution of the ripening problems. It is hardly likely that it will be possible to solve rapidly those problems of theory whose solution is required by practice, but what we know of the country's position and the issues of concern to us provides the foundation for drafting the program and for practical solutions.

The draft long-range program of the party should outline the tasks for the next, and by then stabilized, period of socialist construction; it should clearly define the road toward the goal of completing the process of building socialism in Poland. When we look backward, this program should bring into order the experience gained during a difficult period of political struggle. When we look ahead, it should, by offering a reminder of the goal, plan a realistic road toward accomplishing it. It appears that what matters most is that every fragment of the program should answer the question of what has changed by now, and what should change, in the position of the working class, the laboring peasantry and the intelligentsia.

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STRUCTURE, POWERS OF NEW TRADE UNION DISCUSSED

Avoid Past Mistakes

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 43, 26 Oct 84 pp 15, 19

[Article by Henryk Maziejuk: "Early Warning"]

[Text] In one of the ministries I heard the view that the trade unions are becoming tough, that they are showing their claws.

More and more one hears opinions showing the resistance and consistent action by the unions in presenting issues which require better solutions. Some people like this, others do not. The latter are of the opinion that unions should take into account more the realities of life. When asked, union leaders say that if they dig in and stop trying to satisfy their members, then the real difficulties not only will not decline but will become still worse.

The irritation, I think, comes from the fact that progress in improved working and living conditions is less than anticipated. It could be greater, were the health of the economy nationwide better, and if the restoration of the health of the individual plants and establishments were quicker and more consistent and systematic. And it is this latter aspect which should concern us, because otherwise the arguments are made, and even the best ideals and mechanisms will fail to work, with an unending flood of words and miscarried hopes than can easily turn into frustration, of which we have frequent examples.

Neither Decorations of Merit Nor Whipping Boy

In one of the plants of Wielkopolska, a large one of considerable importance to the town, people told me about the conflict arising out of the fact that the union called for correcting social neglect, all to no avail. Once it was a question of showers and hot water. Another time it was the coffee shop and cafeteria. Still again, improvements in occupational health dangers. But when the anticipated solutions in these issues were not forthcoming, the enervated staff issued further demands, this time about wages.

The management ignored the demands and assumed an adversary position to the trade union, which, defending the workers, insistently defended its stand. Then the administration made the next error by removing the most active unionists, which the administration thought would quiet down the rest. This was

not only a mistake -- an old-fashioned one at that -- it was a violation of the law. Meanwhile, the union resisted and stepped up the demands. It was supported by the federation, and this fact added fuel to the fire.

As a result of this clash, the director stepped down. The employees who had bothered him returned to the plant, and, as it turned out, it became possible gradually to start taking care of the workers' real social demands.

We are hearing similar examples today far more frequently than we used to. This is because sometimes the plant administration is unable to accept the many demands made on it by the trade unions, using objective difficulties as the excuse, but the reasons are not always objective, and when the union has arguments to prove it, the union does not want to accept such an explanation as sufficient.

Despite the difficulties that exist, there is no need to delay in taking care of many of the demands of trade-union members. It is possible and necessary to better working conditions, to upgrade the management and organization of work, and to motivate the best employees by making better distinctions in the payment of wages. And this is also what the unions are fighting for.

Since there are difficulties, what stands in the way of discussing them in a realistic way as partners rather than closing the mouths of the unionists?

Old habits which are sometimes betrayed astonishingly quickly lead to clashes when they come into contact with justified union demands. And these clashes are unnecessary. Could we not jointly set down a plan of action, make a sort of plant social agreement whose implementation would be spread out over time but systematically integrated and followed?

If bad practices and old habits begin to creep in, they will disturb and upset people. The union movement, under the pressure of the workers, will not allow itself to be ignored. It is logical and normal for unionists who have often laid themselves open to the fellow employees and decided to work actively in the new trade union not to assume the role of either decoration or whipping boy. They will be constantly keeping in mind that they have to save face.

What Can the Unions Do?

Unionists do not want to repeat the mistakes of the past. They are under pressure from their members and those outside the union are noting its actions, seeing that the union is careful not to lay itself open to the accusation that they are softies or that they can be led by the hand. This is the way it is where the unions have taken root and have a sense of their strength. They have become a demanding partner, maybe also a tedious and difficult one, but it cannot be otherwise. Today unions of any other sort, subordinate and colorless or irresponsible and trouble-making, would not gain acceptance.

What then can the unions do? This question comes up often in discussions among unionists.



The new unions have been operating in the new plants for less than 2 years. This is a short time, but a considerable amount of experience has been gained. The federations take half as long. Although not in all the factories, mills, mines, ports, shipyards, state farms, and cooperatives, to refer to merely a few plants, the unions are numerous and strong, but usually the situation is such that they cannot be overlooked or underestimated.

It is also difficult to find a single standard of measurement for the federations. There are already 112 of them in Poland. Approximately 30 more are waiting to be registered with the courts. Among them are some very strong ones, with several thousand members, like the metal-workers, the steel-mill workers, and state-farm employees, and some are smaller, but this does not mean that they are weaker. Take, for example, the leather-workers or CEZAS employees.

The plant organizations are the basis of the unions' strength. This is natural, but also understandable is the attempt to centralize union strength in a structure at a level above the federation. Within the unions there is a great deal of discussion, which, although not without conflict, looks as though it would lead to concrete proposals regarding just what this structure should look like. One thing is certain: this process should not be artificially speeded up or unnecessarily delayed. It will come to maturity and give birth to its own appropriate solutions.

#### Pulsating Signal

When asked about this issue, unionists answer almost unanimously: We are interested in increasing the union movement's influence to produce greater results. And that is the way the unions are to be situated in Poland. So how, what sort?

For the plants, practice shows what the union is and what it can mean, if it does not want to be decoration, so much more elevated, of more blind people, because the federations are not always strong and efficient enough, or even competent enough, to be a partner to the ministries or industrial associations. Here, after all, it is not a question merely of branch or sector interests but of issues of general national importance.

The issue which joins all working people is in all certainty the concern to get the country out of the crisis and to establish its coordinated stable development to fit the adopted system, social, and class targets, because the unions, after all, have taken class positions. We are talking about development that will occur without sharp turns and painful conflicts, without glaring errors or avoidable accidents, without the need of burdening society with the excessive burden of the costs of such mistakes or wasting its energies. The experience which Poland bears in this area should be sufficiently enlightening and educational.

Strong, competent, responsible, efficient trade unions are able not only to support those programs and instances of initiative which are aimed at achieving the targets designated but also to give early warning before errors



are made. Within the framework of the unions, the employees' "throbbing" interests can and should serve as signals to the authorities and to the government. Coming from the unions they are exceptionally important, because they are the condensed expression of the feelings of millions of people, and they can and should act as a special form of corrective. If they are properly collected and considered in time, they can be an important element in the early warning system.

Then What?

Ignoring the warning signals through the officials' ignorance or arrogance has cost us too much in the past, because before, although in a different setting, the unions also provided warnings, but these were unfortunately made light of.

Do the trade unions presently play such a role? They certainly do, but there is cause to doubt whether this exhausts their capabilities and is up to meeting the needs that exist.

The trade unions have twice presented their ideological and class face, their power of argument, and their will to perform, at an all-Polish forum. The first was in Silesia, in Baildon, and the next at Nowotko in Warsaw. I think that the style and manner in which the unionists conducted their reasoning could be pleasing, at least this is what those which much to tell are saying.

Are similar union congresses to be held in the future? They can be, but they will not resolve the problem, because it is a question of such a formula of union representation of interests that would be permanent, given executive authority, and based on its own analysis and research and its own team of experts. Without close cooperation with the rest, no federation can meet the growing requirements of unionists.

The unionists will find such a formula. I think that the most important thing above all is for the early-warning system to work without a hitch, to signal dangers in time.

#### Goals, Intentions Presented

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "Union Movement Draft Program--To Work in Operation"]

[Text] We are coming up on 24 November, a date which may prove historic in modern Polish union movement history. On this day in Bytom representatives of all the trade union organizations (above the plant level and a large group of organizations from various plants) will meet to take a step toward unification, to create or not to create the OPZZ (Ogolnopolskie Porozumienie Zwiolkow Zawodowych = All-Polish Trade Union Agreement).

Always more important for me personally than structures are the goals for which these structures are created, the targets or the program. There is a draft of such a document, drawn up back then by the collegium of the chairmen of all-national trade union organizations in September of this year. It is very short and compact -- only five and a half pages -- but it contains just about all that not so long ago in the ultrarich "new language" used to take up several dozen pages.

The first sentence of the document is a terse statement of the essence of the new movement's political goals: "Our goal is socialism without distortions." Clever, but how to achieve that? The authors provide no formula. They do not intend to build socialism themselves or for somebody, but they are aware that "socialism cannot be constructed without us, without the participation of the labor movement." The movement comes out for being a PZPR ally in carrying out its historic mission, but at the same time, "As an organization not part of the government, a cocreator of the system of the political organization of society, we create intraunion laws."

Are such declarations in the movement's "program" necessary? After all, these matters refer purely to by-laws and rules and regulations. On the basis of recent historical experience, the unionists see the necessity of elevating their self-governing status to the rank of political and program goals. It is simply a question of making this status lasting and permanent. It is a question of keeping the declared bond of alliance with the party from gradually changing, as recently happened, into organizational subordination.

The authors of the document describe the movement's ideological development out of a century-old tradition of class-based trade unions, from the period between the wars. They refer to those unionists who participated in the rebuilding of Poland after World War II, who got the factories going and taught people respect for work.

The document emphasizes the basic tasks for the trade union movement in the near future. There are three great groups of problems.

The movement's first basic task is to "protect the rights and interests of working people." In greater detail the document mentions that one of the unions' duties, for example, is to fight bureaucracy, social injustice, and all phenomena and actions "which make life hard and violate worker dignity." The movement will struggle for "just distribution of goods, equality before the law, especially the conditions under which the younger generation makes it start in its vocation, and the social security and safety of Polish families."

Then the authors mention the steps which should be undertaken to achieve such difficult and ambitious goals. Therefore we must create a clear system of equal rights for all, including the necessary changes in the law. Work must begin to update the labor code. The movement must gain legislative initiative rights. The principle "Nothing about us without us" must also be followed. The struggle for the interests of working people also means the fight for better occupational health and safety conditions, health care, living conditions for pensioners and retired persons, better recreation and tourism,

the possibility for renewal and health, and better access to participate in culture both actively and passively.

The second major group of the new movement's tasks is "active participation in the country's economic life," because only through action, through participation can we "have an influence on the social and economic changes taking place." In this part the draft of the "Program" envisions action which acts as an incentive for people to do better work, to increase national income. "We are ready to participate in the structuring and implementation of socio-economic tasks at all levels."

This point shows a basic change from all the declarations made by what used to be Solidarity. As a program issue it actually did not want to participate in the creation of income, in creating a climate for work. It by no means wanted to take responsibility but boiled its union tasks down to merely making a critical assessment, to issuing evaluations and demands. But after all you can only divide up for distribution what you have produced.

The new trade unions are not formulating this task unconditionally. They want to take a conscious, independent part in the state's economic and social life. For this reason the authors of the document state the conditions which all echelons of authority must meet for the unions' participation to be real. Therefore the authorities must make available to the unions "all data, information, and analyses upon which the decisions being prepared and made are based, both at the central level and in the workplace." It is essential to improve the system of the economic reform in conjunction with the unions and to define the role and "scope of social consultation against the backdrop of the role of the trade unions," "to create the conditions which will make it possible for the trade unions to share in the distribution of national income." It is also necessary to create our own union analytical research center. Under such conditions activating people to work better will make sense, will be a sort of mutual competition, and so on.

The third group of tasks is contained in the draft under the rubric "Shaping Attitudes." According to the authors of the document, the unions should undertake energetic action to upgrade professional ethics and the culture of work. These goals can be achieved by developing and supporting all sorts of worker education, by upgrading qualifications through courses and training. Conditions must be created whereby the young can earn high school and college diplomas. In the plants the union organizations should concern themselves with proper human relations, with tying into the working traditions of "respect for work and solidarity among working people."

The authors say that in order to meet these goals, the unity and integration of the whole Polish labor movement is essential. "Our trade union movement is characterized by organizational dispersion. More than 100 (author's note: the figure is now over 120) all-national organizations have come into being, but organizational dispersion and the difficulties which go with this in shaping a uniform position vis-a-vis partners in the economic and state administration are a reason why the trade unions are weak."

It is not my intention to make a definitive statement about what is correct. The past few years have taught us that before we say anything definitively, it is worthwhile to check out the model in operation. And this is probably justified.

#### Preparations for Bytom Meeting

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Andrzej Jurczynski: "Mutual Interest -- In Anticipation of the All-Polish Trade Union Meeting"]

[Text] The deliberations of the All-Polish Trade Union Meeting will begin on 24 November at the Szombierki Hard Coal Mine in Bytom. It is hard to overrate the significance of this event. The trade unions, with about 5 million members, are today the largest organization of working people, and their activity is an important factor in our getting out of the socioeconomic crisis and an essential element in the process of socialist changes in our country.

During the past 2 years the trade unions have developed with a class nature and have come out in favor of the socialist development of the country and of being active in participating in it. Forty-five per cent of all employed people are members, and in 13 voivodships they have a majority. More than 60 per cent of all hard coal miners, socialized farmers, and schoolteachers are members.

An indicator of government officials' attitude toward the union movement is the role which the movement even today is playing in our country's socioeconomic as well as political life. Trade union representatives share in the work of the Sejm's Socioeconomic Council, present their opinions on draft laws, are invited to some sessions of the Government Presidium, have served as consultants in the drafting of annual plans, and take stands on many important employee matters. All this confirms emphatically the fact that the trade unions already hold an important spot in the system of socialist democracy.

In assessing the achievements of the past 2 years, it is worth noting the building of bonds with the trade-union movement in other socialist countries. We have also completed the process of building the plant organizations. There are few places of employment without union organizations. Structures above the plant level are also in operation already. There are already more than 120 national organizations, as well as voivodship structures. A specific feature of union life at present is its social action. During the past 2 years a valuable group of union activists has come into being. It is true that they do not have much experience, but they are full of enthusiasm and ingenuity.

The trade union movement in our country is currently in a particularly important period. This is in regard to resolving issues of decisive importance to the movement's future, three issues in particular: expanding the membership, action program, and the complex process of integration.

There is discussion of unifying the union movement. Let us add at this moment that in political terms this is a uniform movement based on a single platform

taking over the traditions and best experience of the class-based union movement, while at the same time strongly emphasizing that this is an assurance of the August agreements with the working class in 1980, with a significant force for progress. Therefore, the process of integration should be discussed mainly in the context of organizational matters related to practical activity, because -- let us mention this again -- all trade union organizations are firmly fixed on the ground of the principles of the country's socialist development. In view of the fact that the movement is so dispersed organizationally at the present time, the unions are not able to take up problems concerning all working people. What is needed is simply all-union representation.

Among the issues which these representatives will share in solving are some very urgent issues related to updating the trade union law, taking over union assets, setting the targets of the next five-year plan, and resolving employee problems of nationwide scope.

The All-Polish Trade Union Meeting in Bytom will discuss the integration decision, but we can already say now that the union activists group involved in the course of the consultations held in the voivodships supports the idea of creating an All-Polish Trade Union Agreement. Despite the difference of opinions in detailed matters, the overwhelming majority of activists agree that an agreement is needed. The OPZZ initiative group, which prepared the draft document containing the purposes, principles and structure of the agreement for the Bytom meeting states clearly: "It is a representative body of the Polish trade unions. It is not a union authority in any way limiting the independence or self-government of the trade unions or their structures above the plant level. On the other hand, it must be a plane for developing joint positions vis-a-vis central political, economic, and government officials. It is a forum for the exchange of experience, knowledge, and views for union activists. It will support the initiative and action of the various trade unions. It will represent the Polish trade union movement in the international forum."

Some 99 national organizations and 33 voivodship ones have already announced their intention to join the All-Polish Trade Union Agreement. This by itself already confirms the advisability of creating the agreement that working people and the whole country need, that we all need.

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## WEAKENED SECURITY POSTURE LINKED TO INTERNAL TURMOIL

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 84 pp 21-32

[Article by Wladyslaw Markiewicz: "The Internal Situation and Poland's International Position and Security"]

[Text] The problems of state security must be examined in the broadest possible dimensions. With regard to Poland, this is a methodological requirement as well as an educational measure of particular importance. The historical experiences of our nation have shown us that the popular idea of national security is associated above all and even exclusively with the question of Polish independence, the preservation of its state sovereignty, the sanctity of Poland's borders and elimination of the specter of biological extinction of the Polish people. In connection with the fact that most Poles are inclined to regard security as preservation of the elementary conditions of national existence, the diverse factors affecting our collective material and spiritual conditions and which also affect that which is which is normally referred to as the country's internal position are specifically regarded. These in turn affect certain peculiarities of Polish society's political culture that are manifested in our country's specific understanding of patriotic duties as well as tasks and methods of civil behavior.

The average Pole perceives the machinations of hostile foreign forces as the chief or even sole danger to the existence of the Polish state and society. It is also widely felt that Poles are a strongly **antimilitaristic** people, especially since World War II, which was fought longest of all on Polish lands and produced more loss of human life and property in Poland than in any other country involved in that war. The Polish people are therefore prepared to do everything necessary to prevent another outburst of cataclysmic war. No other nation has as much right and moral duty as Poland to present the peace initiatives that have been so widely supported by the majority of the world's countries. It is no coincidence that, in his continually renewed appeals for effective action against the threat of nuclear extinction, Pope John Paul II uses his own Polish background and personal experiences as a member of a nation that has known the greatest cruelties of war to increase the power of his appeals.

Without questioning the pacifism of our society, we can however attempt to throw new light on the subject by pointing out certain inconsistencies and

ambiguities in our attitudes.

First of all, while speaking out against war more emphatically than any other nation, we are doing much less to prepare ourselves for such a cruel eventuality which is, unfortunately, not at all a product of the imagination.

Our society has an extremely modest knowledge of the meaning of nuclear war. There is a widespread conviction that this would bring about a definite end to all life on earth and that any idea of saving some small part of our nation from a cataclysm of this sort is nonsense. With our characteristic gallows humor, so well tested during the Nazi occupation, we tell macabre jokes about how to act during a nuclear attack on our country more readily than we really try to determine who and what must be at any cost protected against a nuclear attack.

This unseemly light-heartedness hides a peculiar "false awareness", in other words, dispassionate and sober analysis of the real facts has been replaced by a mythical faith in the dispensations of Providence, the judgements of which may be impenetrable but are, in the long run, always good for Poland. At the same time, during our frequent martyrological anniversaries, we constantly remind the younger generation of the sufferings of the older generations to preserve Poland and we thereby unintentionally arouse the romantic and heroic emotions connected with our desperate past. It has been only recently, however, that in discussion of the younger generation's prospects we have heard it said that this generation does not see any sense in life while people of the same age group during the war lived more interesting and colorful lives in constant everyday dealings with death.

These attitudes have and continue to nourish the antisocialist opposition. The opposition at first minimized the danger of civil war in Poland caused by growing anarchy and the preparations of the extremist leadership of Solidarity to take over the country and it did not at all consider the consequences of its actions for peace in Europe. In spite of all that has happened, these same anticommunist fanatics now make light of the danger of nuclear war and greet with ostentatious joy the deployment in Western Europe of American Pershing missiles. However, they know very well that most of these missiles are aimed at Poland.

Thus, Poland's attitude to war is not as unambiguous as it might at first seem. Taking a fatalistic view of war as a scourge of God and a sinister force of nature, Poles pray that the Almighty preserve them from pestilence, hunger, fire and war. However, this does not stop some from praying fervently for a "general war between nations" or, in the name of mythically perceived liberty, provoking a war of total atomic extermination. It really can be said that these opinions and actions are not representative of the majority but of "afflicted" desperadoes. The fact remains that they are still found either openly or covertly among some members of the public and are not acted against as strongly as they should be.

Second, Poland has a historical tradition of seeing the question of its security with a "to be or not to be" or an "all or nothing" attitude. Poles



therefore have the greatest difficulty understanding that, now more than ever, every prudent nation with an instinct for self-preservation must learn the art of compromise, that it must realistically assess its possibilities and power in terms of the force available to other nations. In other words, Poles must realize that to save the garment itself it is often necessary to surrender a button from one's overcoat.

A special trait that distinguishes Poles from other nations is their tendency to take a simple, highly egocentric and emotional or even cocky view of the interests and desires of other states in relation to their own governmental and national affairs. Many other nations may certainly nurture their own interests in the same way but it will be deadly in the long run for Poland, in the position in which it has found itself for centuries, to think of itself as it has since the eighteenth-century partitions as a chosen people suffering guiltlessly for the millions to selflessly spare them from the storms of history or as a nation that will be saved through divine providence.

It is hard for Poles to understand that even history's mightiest states could not survive without allies. Therefore, the art of acquiring allies is, for small and medium-sized nations in particular, a mark of their political sophistication and a thing that will finally decide whether or not they can survive. An integral element of a nation's political art is a desire and ability to empathize with its partners, to understand their interests and recognize the motives by which their policies are guided, even if those policies are hard to condone. A nation must also respect its partners' aspirations.

Despite these elementary rules of diplomacy, Poles have often, in their dealings with other nations, valued above all gestures which were sometimes gestures of greatness and sometimes pride. They have often enjoyed taking on the role of saviors and were then sorely disappointed to find that there was no one willing to save them. They have boasted that they are called the inspiration of humanity and later taken offense whenever it turned out that complements are only one of the benefits that they could receive from their allies and for a time only. That credit was given for a time only is clearly shown by the premeditated efforts of western historians and politicians to ignore or minimize the contribution made by the Polish armed forces and underground to the victory over the Third Reich. The most drastic and insulting expression of this tendency was the manipulation by the French government involved in inviting a delegation of Polish veterans to the ceremonies commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the Allied landings in Normandy.

According to Jerzy Michalski, as early the time of the Polish magnates, "internal political criteria dominated external criteria" in political thinking.<sup>1</sup> The members of the Confederation of Bar, for example, were cocksure in their belief that at least half of Europe would support them and that they would receive aid from France and its allies and Austria in particular. Since almost all Poles shared that naive belief, nearly all attempts to bring the country to a compromise with Russia and prevent the partitions were made impossible. "This entire policy," says Michalski, "was make-believe".<sup>2</sup>



Things were no different during Poland's 20 years of independence and the later German occupation. According to Konstanty Grzybowski, the Second Polish Republic's foreign policy was based on two principles: "The first was a 'two enemies theory' strongly propagandized by some segments of society during the war and still accepted by some today. This doctrine of 'neither the Germans nor the Soviet Union' was based on the view that both of the above states were potential enemies. The war showed the consequences such a policy held for a small nation between two great ones...Those that still adhere today to the theory of 'two enemies' have forgotten lesson that history taught us in September 1939. The second premise of Polish diplomacy before World War II was to 'not be too close to or too dependent on distant allies'. The openly admitted justification for this policy was national pride. It would be better called a national megalomania emotionally comprehended by a people that had been for more than a century dependent on foreign nations. However, this is neither a rational nor realistic explanation of this policy. A nation cannot see its neighbors as enemies while arousing suspicion and disinterest in its allies by gesturing and talking about its independence from them".<sup>3</sup>

A notorious lack of realism was also demonstrated by the emigre Polish government in Angers and later in London. Even during the greatest tension between the Soviet Union and the western nations, during the Soviet-Finnish War, France and England as well as the United States did everything possible, according to Henryk Batowski, to get around the declarations they were forced to make in recognition of Poland's eastern borders. They made it clear that, in the interests of a future, independent Poland, the loss of eastern territories primarily inhabited by Ukrainians, White Russians and Lithuanians and the new version of the Curzon Line must be accepted.<sup>4</sup> The persuasions of the western statesmen came to nothing and, as we know, the emigre government just as strongly and bothersomely insisted on restoring the 1939 Polish-Soviet border even when the USSR had become an ally of the West and the main bedrock of the alliance against Hitler. According to J. Michalski, as we now see, "gullible optimism in assessing the international situation, the inebriation of the patriotic hurrah and the adoption of foreign orientations according to internal political conditions characterized not only the old 'Sarmatian' political mentality"<sup>5</sup> but has also manifested itself now 150 years later in the mentality of the antisocialist opposition of today. Such an attitude is incomprehensible to Poland's friendly foreign observers who, like Johan Galtung, say that Poles do not understand the international situation and do not make any allowances for it. They go on to say that they have no feeling for what is possible and what is made impossible by the balance of forces in the world.

It was only after World War II that Poland found itself for the first time in its history in a position in which all of its neighboring countries were allies. In such a situation, a politically mature people will be able to overcome its historical resentments against allied nations and, for the sake of higher goals, try to repress or at least not ostentatiously parade the harm it may have suffered at one time and rather demand only that its partners take a similar attitude. As Jerzy Michalski wisely advises, "We must at any cost shake off the mental habits of the Polish gentry and magnates who were convinced of their importance to foreign states and looked at the world through

the prism of their own wishes."<sup>6</sup>

With regard to relations between nations and states, it is really true that one must respect oneself to be respected by others. The international position and authority of a state largely depends on how its own citizens regard it and how they assess its value, strength and abilities. It has already become a truism that the average Pole now has a different view of the meaning of "nation" and "state" than any other modern people. While other so-called state peoples see the source of their identity in the very fact that they have their own government and cannot imagine their existence as anything other than a state society, the Poles see themselves apart from these two notions. The existence of the people as an ethnic group is considered much more important than the existence of a national state. The reason for such an attitude must be looked for in the political heritage of the partition period when the most important commandment for Poles was to remain ever ready to give one's life for the fatherland and to preserve the language and faith of our forefathers as the main attributes of Polish nationality. Under the rigor the accusation of national renegade, these values had to be respected by all segments of Polish society regardless of what any one of them may have thought of the reality of creating an independent state. In other words, they were idiopathic values.

The idea of national individuality was made an almost sacred precept and a Pole was expected to serve his people every day and not speak ill of Poland any more than he would of his mother. At the same time, however, people could with impunity say the worst things about the government, since it was an oppressive partition government. Furthermore, any harm done to this state, sabotage or scoffing passed for patriotic duty.

This hostile attitude toward the state became a tradition which would not automatically disappear when Poland gained its independence. A brief period of euphoria induced by what was then called Poland's "resurrection" was followed by a period of the usual everyday dealings with the state which turned out to be a poor, backward state with built-in unemployment, an unfavorable geopolitical situation and an unusually complicated ethnic and religious structure. This was a state which was not expected to have a long or easy life. The reality of Poland was a disappointment to the masses and they were not sparing in their criticism of it.

The main political parties of the Second Polish Republic maintained the social myth that the people and state were two qualitatively different and opposite social formations. According to K. Grzybowski, the program of the Piast party "put the importance of the people above all else" and at the same time held that the state's influence on the country's economic life "should only form the superior guidance over the development of industry, business and agriculture".<sup>7</sup> The nationalist right wing under its chief ideologist, Roman Dmowski, went even further in this direction to "recognize what is termed 'the organization of the nation' as distinguished from 'organization of the state' as Poland's one salvation".

This was deplored by the leaders of the Sanacja who had tried in vain to propagate a cult of state among the people of Poland. Finally, in view of the

experiences of Pilsudski, Slawoj-Skladkowski and other politicians of that time, the notion was advanced that the Poles were ungrateful to their benefactors and to those who had fought for independence and that this was a nation difficult to govern.

The September 1939 disaster and the government's flight abroad strengthened the popular conviction that Poland had been poorly governed, that it was not a nation but a government unable to meet the demands of history. During the occupation, in the face of the increasing threat of biological extinction, the Polish people reexperienced the previous epoch of partition in one dramatic step. The merciless struggle with the invader and its state became the holy patriotic duty of every Pole. And just as before, it was again felt that the restored Polish state would be a much better one than it had ever been before.

It was possible to nourish hopes that these expectations would finally be realized during certain periods of postwar Polish history, especially during the country's reconstruction and then following the events of October 1956 and December 1970, when the cause of repairing socialism and eliminating its glaring distortions and degenerate elements was taken up. Unfortunately, this did not come to pass and it is due to these bad experiences that there is now a feeling of distrust for the state. Its leaders have had to live in an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion sometimes even approaching hatred. Edmund Osmanczyk's bitter outpourings of 37 years ago sound as if they could have been written yesterday. He writes in his "The Affairs of Poles": "While among some of our emigres in the West not long ago, I often heard it said that any help now given Poland would be exploited as a success of the present government and would only strengthen that government. The conclusion is therefore that Poland is not to be aided. The worse things become, the better for Poland! It must again be asked, worse for whom? For the government or for the Poles in Poland? Poland is not only an idea to be written onto standards and carried around the world. Poland is its land and people. It is never better for Poland when things are bad for the Polish people and land".<sup>8</sup>

This cannot lead one to conclude that the Poles do not appreciate the institution of the state. It is just the contrary. The characteristics of historical Polish culture have conveyed to us a tradition of democratic forms of government and the tendency to view government not only as an end in itself but as an institution meant to serve the people and care for them. For the very reason that Poles were deprived of their own state in a period in which modern forms of government such as political parties, popularly elected parliaments, autonomy, etc., came into being, they tend to idealize the state that would come only in the future. They nurtured this vision of government in their expectations, hopes and dreams as a contradiction of all that was for them the real state of political affairs under the partitions. In order to realize this excessively beautiful vision of an independent Polish state, almost every generation of Poles rose up in armed revolt against their occupants. Whatever can be said about the decisions made by the leaders of the uprisings (this subject will always be discussed), it is undeniable that these spectacular and tragic enterprises, doomed to failure, were an ideological and moral inspiration to Poles in all of the partitioned areas of the nation and therefore preserved the idea of a united nation and independent Polish state.

It was only thanks to this tradition that it was possible during Poland's 20 years of independence between world wars to surprisingly quickly overcome the most drastic regional differences and antagonisms produced by the more than 100 years of partition.

As Aleksander Luczak writes: "The myth of the state in the political thought of the people's movement was a means of identifying the idea of the state, democracy and the people in an agrarian concept of a people's Poland".<sup>9</sup> Pilsudski's interpretation of this was that it was an often cynical, in Grzybowski's opinion, political game combined with a utopian concept of the state as a classless abstraction and this itself was often used to justify the cynical and brutal politics. The myth of an independent Polish state was idealized for so many years that the state came to be seen as a value in itself which was eternal, unchanging and unsoiled by everyday needs and struggles. Pilsudski regarded himself as the sole guardian, spokesman and fulfiller of this myth.<sup>10</sup>

It is not hard to see that this mythological concept of the state and its functions still continues to appear in various versions. We sometimes see it expressed as institutions realizing (how prematurely!) the idea of "the nation's moral and political unity" or as benefactors continually reaching into bottomless pockets to "give each citizen his due". We have most recently seen this in Solidarity's anarchistic concept of the "autonomous republic".

It is high time that we learn to have a "normal" and unexalted attitude toward the state as an institution necessary to our national security and the realization of the socialist ideals of our common home. In the interests of our nation we must accept the state even when its institutions and their methods of administration are not totally satisfactory to us. Any improvement of the mechanism of our home and state and its functioning may only be implemented within this state that we have worked so hard together to create. It is only in this way that we can deny the old chauvinist German theme, recently exhumed by Poland's enemies, that the Poles are unable to govern themselves.

These denunciations, aimed at crushing the will of the nation and driving it into becoming the "sick man of Europe" may imperceptibly become our national complex if we do not overcome the vice of regarding our past and especially our recent past as a catastrophe. The catastrophe propaganda spread by the opponents of Polish socialism is often blindly accepted by the notoriously embittered, discouraged and disappointed people so often found among us as an antidote to recent and still-recurring simplistic and aggrandizing success propaganda. Sober reflection enjoins us to emphatically reject this type of therapy. We should, on the other hand, revive within ourselves what Kazimierz Dobrowolski so wisely and beautifully defined as "the courage to look dispassionately at our past and the fortitude to see the truth". Remembering Konstanty Grzybowski's warning that "the modern man sees above all errors...suffers above all the changes that he still has not accepted psychologically, to which society has not matured", let us assume that what he says is true and look at the history of the Polish People's Republic "not as people who have lived in this state but as people who remember its lasting

accomplishments".<sup>11</sup> We will then see that this still-unfolding history has left us with much that, in comparison with other nations, we can take pride in.

The achievement that I feel stands out as one of the greatest in the thousand years of Polish history is the reconstruction, administration and the social and cultural integration of the western lands with the mother country. "The wastelands and ruins between the former Polish border and the Oder and Neisse rivers," writes K. Grzybowski, "were made part of Poland and rebuilt economically along with the old Polish lands".<sup>12</sup> In another place he writes, "The feeling that Poland has had for so long that these lands always were Polish was revived in full force in 1945 and grow stronger every year. This is an immeasurably strong bond. It is like a legitimism and a moral and legal justification of Poland's right to these lands".<sup>13</sup>

The words of this great scholar and matchless propagator of political culture in our society are extraordinarily timely today in the face of the growing wave of revision in West Germany over the border problem which is even more synchronized now than it was during the Cold War with the concept of the so-called Yalta and Potsdam order of Europe. It is not a matter of using the scarecrow of West Germany to make, as some publicists say, an ideological and political platform unifying the Polish people and for Poland to find itself a place in international politics by taking the role of Cassandra. Creating a panic is not the best way to build up the nation's moral and political unity and be respected throughout the world because this is most often seen as a sign of weakness. That which should really alarm us is the fact that not only are West German politicians formulating their concepts of setting right what they feel is a still-unsolved problem of a "German question" either as aggressive demands and accusations or even Aesop-like, ingratiatingly disarming declarations of good will but that they are trying to solve the problem by ignoring Poland or leaving her out of the solution. Therefore, the best, most suggestive and most convincing riposte to revisionist propaganda is to continue to point out the Polish achievements in the recovered territories and to build upon them to show the importance of these lands to the stabilization of the Polish state.

Small nations and medium-sized ones such as Poland can achieve a lasting right to an important place in history if they realistically assess their possibilities for acting in the sectors of contemporary society that have an important role in our nation and will have an increasingly greater one improving the quality of human life.

It is almost certain that, with our limited resources and materials, we will be unable to compete with better-equipped countries in all of those areas that determine a nation's progress, international prestige and position. This is especially true with regard to modern technology, a field in which we can and should set ourselves the goal of bringing ourselves up to average contemporary global technological standards while trying to take the lead in certain chosen technological specializations. In doing so, we must be aware of the fact that even such a modest goal cannot be fulfilled using our own resources alone and that it will only be possible to reduce the "technological gap" between our nation and more highly-developed nations if we broaden and streamline our

economic and scientific cooperation with other nations of the socialist community and rationally shape our economic relations with the rest of the world.

Since the broad field of technology does not comprise an area of social action and endeavor in which it would be possible for us to successfully achieve the rank of a progressive nation it is necessary to look for other means of fulfilling our national ambitions. This is especially true of cultural life, social welfare, public morality and the organization of interpersonal coexistence. These are areas that have an enormous influence on the national identity and which, in other words, will preserve undistorted the traits of so-called national character that are now threatened by the uniformist tendencies of modern technology and also form an element enriching the culture and traditions of human society in general.

In other words, we have, as a nation, a chance to achieve a place of honor in the world by creating a unique prescription for the dignity and color of life based on a humanistic codex of social responsibility. In a period of the abasement of traditions, the formalization and trivialization of human contacts, the bureaucratization of society, there is a need for new patterns of life. The new patterns been recommended for some time by famous Polish intellectuals such as Tadeusz Kotarbinski, Maria and Stanislaw Ossowski, Jan Szczepanski and Bogdan Suchodolski are becoming more and more popular in this blindly modern world.

In connection with this, it is necessary, along with the reformation of the national economy and the state system, to make an effort to restructure the rules governing our everyday individual and collective actions. Fortunately, these have been preserved in the national heritage and in our traditional values such as organized work, tolerance, selfless service pro publico bono, brotherhood of peoples, etc. and evoked in their full brilliance in the light of day and attuned to the natural values of socialist ideology and embedded into the awareness and attitudes of broad social circles where they can assure us of a lasting and safe place among the peoples of the world.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. J. Michalski, "Dyplomacja polska w latach 1764-1795" [Polish diplomacy from 1764 to 1795], in "Historia dyplomacji polskiej", Vol. 2: 1572-1795, edited by Zbigniew Wojcik, Warsaw, 1982, pp 509, 510.
2. Michalski, op. cit., p 565.
3. K. Grzybowski, "Piecdziesiat lat 1918-1968" [Fifty years, 1918-1968], Krakow, 1977, pp 145,146.
4. H. Batowski, "Z dziejow dyplomacji polskiej na obczyznnie (wrzesien 1939 - lipiec 1941)" [The history of Polish diplomacy abroad (September 1939 to July 1941)], Krakow, 1984.
5. Michalski, op. cit., p 565.

6. Ibid, p 565.
7. K. Grzybowski, op. cit., p 91.
8. E. Osmanczyk, "Sprawy polakow" [The Affairs of Poles], Katowice, 1947, p 60.
9. A. Luczak, "Spoloczenstwo i panstwo w mysli politycznej ruchu ludowego II Rzeczypospolitej" [The society and state in the political thought of the people's movement in the Second Republic], Warsaw, 1982.
10. Grzybowski, op. cit., p 115.
11. Ibid, pp 161, 165.
12. Ibid, p 165.
13. Ibid, p 159.

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## NONEXTREMIST CHRISTIANITY SEEN AS PARTNER FOR SOCIALISM

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[Article by Kazimierz Morawski: "Christians in Socialism: Past Experiences and Future Perspectives"]

[Text] We are celebrating the 40th anniversary of People's Poland. This period is made up of great achievements, deep socio-ideological and economic changes and failures, always present in what is new. We must state clearly, however, that the 40-year balance is a positive one, that achievements on many planes of life outweigh considerably the errors and failures. The latter have occurred when the solutions embarked upon have conflicted with the ideals of social justice, democracy and socialist humanism that were stated in the July Manifesto, a document that opened a new page in the history of Poland. An insufficiency of socialism, and not its surfeit, usually has been the major cause of our failures. This is evident from the perspective of the 40 years clearly and irrefutably. Therefore, aware of our mistakes and deformations, we must be more careful in caring for and developing everything that, beginning with the July Manifesto, is our national and social heritage. A nation that resents the mistakes of its recent history destroys in its consciousness the great material and spiritual achievements that accompany these mistakes and becomes ineffectual. The achievements of 40 years must be examined both on the internal and external planes. The work of building socialism that was begun 40 years ago has transformed our country in the political, economic, and cultural sphere; it has changed its people and their way of thinking. In its gradual elimination of man's exploitation of man, socialism has meant a new shape of interpersonal relations. The realization of the work of social justice, the fulfillment of human rights with the foremost right to work, the unprecedented social advancement of millions of people and their access to culture and education--all this has lent a new quality to the lives of Poles. At the same time, socialism, implemented under the leadership of the working class party, has given a new direction to Polish policy, whose permanent alliance, friendship and cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union and our other neighbors has become its foundation. Poland, drawing conclusions from its painful past, has ceased being a bulwark against, and gate for, attacks from the West, for the diversionary actions of capitalism and imperialism against the foremost socialist state--the Soviet Union. Never again can it allow itself to be put in this position. People's Poland, with its new borders based on the Odra, the Nysa and the Baltic, has become a state that henceforth



can ensure national security, peaceful conditions of development and a situation guaranteeing its permanent, rightful place on the political map of Europe. This direction of Polish development, ushered in by the July turn through the camp of the Polish Left, was an expression of the deepest Polish patriotism. Hence, despite the differences and divisions that have occurred, especially in the initial period, this direction has become a national value uniting the various social forces and various world views.

This situation serves as a background for the meeting of Christianity and socialism, unprecedented in scale and scope. In many ways this possesses a significance that far transcends our national boundaries. In Poland, a country with great Christian traditions, a country with a specific, extremely complex and painful past history, socialism is an outgrowth of native social needs; it implements the goals of Polish patriotism. This process has continued in the political and ideological struggle. Its goals of serving the supreme good of the Homeland have crystalized in its social, political and economic assumptions to reach broader and broader circles of society, including the Christian and Catholic communities. A new quality of life exists, and the process of respecting various world views has matured. These convictions, while different, have not divided people, but enable them to work together for the common national good in the spirit of social progress. The process of dialogue and civic cooperation has matured. It was clear from the start, and was confirmed later by the practice of social life, that the different world views in no way coincide with ideological-political differences. This is the first important, almost fundamental conclusion, rich in social and civic benefits, that emanates from the experiences of the contact between socialism and Christianity on our soil. At the same time, there have been other facts in practice that attest to the link between Catholicism, the church and conservative trends toward restoring capitalism. These have declined and faded over the years. These trends, supported by the centers of the Catholic Right, have used the religious sentiments of the faithful, the traditional ties of Poles with Christian values, to foment opposition to the process of socialist changes, much as the current crisis has used them, but on a different level.

Following these preliminary remarks, let us pose a broader question: how are we to assess this contact between Christianity and socialism 40 years after the assumption of power by the people, in a complex period that is full of different kinds of dangers? What can we say about the future of this contact?

The ideological declaration of our movement states: "We consider the road we have marked out to socialism to be our own, not only because it expresses the current Polish reasons of state. We support it because, under the principles of socialist socioeconomic thought, we see it as an answer to the aims of the working world for social justice that are correct and compatible with our aims. Our country's alliance with the USSR is indispensable to Poland. We recognize the special responsibility of the working party in governing the country." It continues: "We recognize the subordination to bishops in the binding area of every Christian, every Catholic that is in the Church, wishes to remain in it on a permanent basis and voluntarily accepts the disciplinary duties that follow in specific areas." "Thus, in our work, we wish to be in harmony

with the teachings of the churches and to refrain from interfering in the field of matters that belong within the jurisdiction of church authorities. In the area approved for, and open to, the activism of secular people, we operate on the basis of the obligatory Christian principle that their province is to choose the paths and methods for acting for the good of their own country and humanity." This ideological declaration has withstood the test of time.

The 14 April 1950 signing of an agreement between the Episcopate and the government of People's Poland was extremely important and has yielded many benefits for society and religious belief. It is also worth noting since it was the first bilateral understanding in history concluded between the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of a state in the process of building socialism. Here it is worth recalling some of the contents of this pioneering understanding. The Episcopate pledged to appeal to the clergy to teach the faithful to respect the law and state authority in their priestly work, in accordance with church teaching. "The Episcopate asks that the clergy, in the course of performing their pastoral duties, increase their efforts toward rebuilding the country and increasing the prosperity of the nation." The Episcopate stated in the agreement that it assumes that the mission of the church may be implemented in various socioeconomic systems set up by secular authority. The agreement continues: "The church, in accordance with its principles, condemning all antistate declarations, particularly will oppose the abuse of religious sentiments for antistate goals." The Catholic Church, in accordance with its principles, as the agreement states, will condemn clergy that are guilty of participating in any sort of underground and antistate acts, and will impose canonical consequences on them. On the other hand, the people's state confirmed its position, already guaranteed in the July Manifesto, in matters of ensuring freedom of conscience and religion. It likewise confirmed the existing rights of the church and the status quo in the matter of its assets. Complete freedom of pastoral work, including catechical and charitable work, within the framework of obligatory law was guaranteed. Such matters as the military pastorate, the pastorate in hospitals and prisons and monastic rights were regulated.

It should be stressed that this agreement, concluded in an unfavorable atmosphere and direction of policy conducted by the Apostolic See and in a difficult and complex internal situation, was an expression of realism and responsibility regarding the issues of the nation and state on both sides, as well as the desire for understanding. It also was an expression of the beginning of the process of separating Catholicism from its ties with the forces of the old system. It should be emphasized that the declaration of the Polish bishops that the pastoral mission of the church can be implemented under various socioeconomic systems with the support of the socioeconomic policy of the people's state was an articulation of the new experiences emanating from the contact between socialism and Christianity in our country, an expression of the new needs of the church and the people's state in light of the new system in the country. The seeking of ways to resolve common problems in a spirit of dialogue and understanding, and not confrontation, was a manifestation of these needs. Thus, the agreement is innovative both on the plane of building the foundations of harmonious church-state relations

in our country and on the plane of its pioneering importance as a precursor in the new approach of the church to socialism and its social and economic assumptions. From the viewpoint of the Marxists and the new socialist authority, it expressed the positing of the idea of national unity as a primary value over occurring differences. It also expressed respect for the national tradition, tied in very strongly with Christianity. Let us also add that the contents of the agreement under consideration was a victory of the line of the progressive trend in Polish Christianity that signified the cooperation of Christians and Catholics in building a new social order. The line of the 1950 agreement was confirmed fully several years later in the position of the Second Vatican Council. And although the success with which the agreement was implemented later varied, and the path to normalization and dialogue as well as mutual cooperation led through failures and conflicts, the major directions of the agreement, expressing the desire of both the new authorities and the church hierarchy to base mutual relations on respect for the Polish reasons of state and the national welfare and on dialogue and mutual respect, finally won out over confrontational tendencies. Let us add here that we also appeal to the fact and the contents of the 1950 agreement today, even and especially when forces are activated in Polish Catholicism to which national understanding based on the recognition of the fundamental values of socialism and the PRL [Polish People's Republic] alliance is unpleasant and alien. Here we must make yet another comment. In the years following the 1950 agreement, the shape of church-state relations varied. In our activity, we supported everything that served normalization and the realization of the spirit and the contents of the agreement, everything that favored the resolution of conflicts and the building of good mutual relations. This is also the case today. Nonetheless, we must observe that the issue of the coming together of Christianity and socialism in postwar Poland cannot be limited to the question of relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state, although this question is of fundamental importance to this process. This would be understating the question, since besides the Roman Catholic Church as the largest religious community, other Christian churches exist and work in Poland whose relations with the socialist state have been structured successfully since the very dawning of the people's state. The foundation of these relations is the continual affirmation of our social system and the feeling, confirmed by law, of the equal status of these religions before the law in the religious policy of the state. This was not the case before the war. Finally, the third crucial element for the issue of this contact is the development and importance of the changes occurring in social attitudes among secular Christians and Catholics. We have always paved the way for this process. Our movement, operating upon its own responsibility and not engaging the authority of bishops, always has taken an independent position on matters of Polish reasons of state, on ideological-political and system-related issues. Sometimes this position is a departure from the views of the hierarchy and its individual members. Here I would like to emphasize the importance of the autonomous position of secular Catholics and Christians. The conflict situations that we have made every effort to counter and that always have been painful to us as Poles and Christians have never driven us off the road that we have chosen, the road of creative participation in socialist changes as the only right future for the development of Poland. I emphasize once again that relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state, while an

important element of social life, do not exhaust the issues of the Christianity-socialism line. The masses of secular people, including the current of the socially progressive Christianity that is the avantgarde of this process, play an extremely important role in this sphere. The failure to appreciate this fact may lead to incorrect conclusions and solutions, for example, in the sector of public life, as well as in other spheres of social life. The movement of the Christian Social Left as a whole, independent of the divisions occurring in it and regardless of the fact that it does not represent the views of the entire Christian community, must formulate a positive solution to the issues emanating from the contact between socialism and Christianity in Poland in the domain it has created and continues to develop, if this process is not to become a permanent conflict. Whether people like it or not, the 40-year heritage we and our allies possess is the foundation on which we can build a permanent place and permanent developmental perspective for Christianity in the various spheres of life, including a place and future for the good of the church.

When we have been asked: what are you, primarily Christians or primarily cobuilders of the new social order, we have answered that there are two unopposed planes of commitment. (Incidentally, we get this question less often today.)

In the past and now, we have treated attempts made to oppose religious belief of the faithful to the duties and attitude of social activism or outright socialist ideological-political involvement as an abuse of religious feelings for the political goals of the battle against socialism, as activity in conflict with the council teachings of the church and also in conflict with the requirements of Polish patriotism. In the past and now, we have believed that Polish patriotism, as a result of the historical transformation of the country and the entire historical process, has found itself on the Left, and that all attempts to link it to Christian conservatism and tendencies battling against our system are the unworthy abuse of Christianity for strictly political ends.

The line of the workings of progressive Christianity in Poland, serving a change in the attitudes of the faithful to views that are progressive socially, has traveled consistently the path of sociopolitical solutions in the sector of religious policy, in concern for the good of the Roman Catholic Church under new systems-type conditions and for the good of the nation and state. It should not be forgotten that we always have sought solutions based on dialogue and understanding. Today many issues formerly considered to be conflict issues or issues that are difficult to resolve are a normal element of our national life. Take, for example, such problems as the resolution of the matter of the broad access of young people to religious teaching while, at the same time, respect for the secular nature of the state and schools is preserved, the issue of the gradual expansion of participation of the faithful in public and state life and in the various kinds of self-governing and representative organs, the issue of the facilitation of church-state cooperation on the various planes of socionational life and the demonstration of the points of contact in this field and the issue of our role in developing understanding, as well as the appreciation by the communists of the constructive role of

Christianity as a socially and culturally important factor in the life of the nation. Let us realize that this open direction for resolving issues by the people's state that emanate from the contact between socialism and Christianity in Poland would not be possible without the existence of a broad social base in the form of the prosocialist movement of Christians and Catholics whose impact is growing and without continual transformations in the consciousness of the faithful, in the spirit of socialist causes. It is an undeniable truth that, in the past and now, Christianity as a whole, as well as its particular factions, including the Roman Catholic Church, has benefited from the fruits of our ideological-political work and allied organizations. There also have been those among them that have not spared us their criticism. But such is the role, the fortune and the misfortune of vanguard movements that, despite the traditionally existing conditions and ideas, pave the way for the new.

The gradual growth of the role of the allies of the socialist cause in Poland is an important expression of the new experiences of socialism in our country. Recently this was reflected in the code of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], whose signers include progressive Christian and Catholic forces. Among the signers of PRON, making up its political nucleus, are social organizations of Christians and Catholics. This was reflected in the expansion of the social base of state and public life by those currents of Polish Christianity that, in the past as now, have favored the continuation of the authority and system of People's Poland. It should be stressed that these facts express the growing role and significance of our movement and its proper, uncompetitive line of action, as a consistent ally of the working party in strengthening and perfecting real socialism, open to the new needs and experiences of the social process in our country.

The issue of the relationship of religion and politics, whose vitality and validity have been confirmed fully in the process of the contact between socialism and Christianity, holds a very important position among our ideological assumptions. As always, we continue to come out against all tendencies toward the politicization of religion and the church and toward the justification of political attitudes by motives emanating from world views, regardless of their tinge. That is why we always have opposed religious criteria in the public life of the country, regardless of who formulated them. Our commitment to, and participation in socialism are motivated by ideological, patriotic and social premises, not religious ones, not the so-called inspiration of the religious world view. We always have strongly emphasized that we stand firmly on the foundation of the total separation of religion and politics. This is the foundation of political thinking. We believe that any involvement of religion, the church or any churches into politics is detrimental to them and to Christianity and its timeless mission, as well as to the people's state and political goals that it represents. This does not mean that we deny the role and significance of the religious world view or of Christian ethics and morals that impact upon the entire life of man. While religion gives us a system of values and moral principles, it does not predetermine a direction or socio-ideological solutions that lead us to transform and improve the world. We believe that the consistent application in life of the standards of Christian ethics and morality is indispensable for the faithful and that it is extremely useful

socially. The development of the moral face of our society based on the ten commandments is a factor that prepares citizens to perform the ever more difficult tasks that life places before us. On the other hand, we are opposed to the politicization of the religious world view; we are opposed to the creation of political systems based on the premises of the religious world view, regardless of the ideological direction. For this reason as well, we are opposed to a religious party and to the revival of the Christian Democratic tradition. We would like the Church to be the Church and to be free from political manipulation from any side. We do not wish religion to become a shield for any sort of politics. The values of the gospels and the social teachings of the Catholic Church and other Christian churches do not designate a single direction of political action; they do not indicate a single specific ideological-political or systemic option. We maintain that this would impoverish the churches, which cannot be viewed in political categories. Meanwhile, we wish to protect and strengthen continually the religious, pastoral, moral authority of the Roman Catholic Church and other churches. The faithful wish to see the Church as a religious-moral authority, not a political one. In the documents of the Second Vatican Council we read: "By virtue of its mission and according to its essence, the Church should not be linked with any special form of culture or political, economic or social system. The Church which, by virtue of its task and powers, is in no way identifiable with any political system, at the same time, acts as a sign and guarantee of the transcendent nature of the human person." In one of his speeches, Pope Paul VI said: "In concrete situations, while realizing the feeling of solidarity experienced by each person, we must recognize the diversity of possible choice to which all are entitled. The same Christian faith can lead to various forms of social commitment." Clearly, this direction of social thought of the Roman Catholic Church as expressed in the council is concurrent with our own position.

Our adherence to Christian values demands that we battle those circles and tendencies, both within Catholicism and, more broadly, within Christianity as a whole, as well as outside it, that wish to link the social function of religion with the ideology of capitalism and imperialism. Today this problem is becoming especially important for all those forces of progressive Christianity that are aware of their responsibility for Christianity and for the development of socialism and world peace. The political and ideological struggle between the two major systems in the modern world has become more intense. The United States and NATO have chosen the course of gaining military superiority over the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. By atomic blackmail, they plan to halt the course of history and impose their own laws and principles of social life. They fail to take into account the terrible, incalculable consequences of this policy for all of humanity. In this misanthropic game, they wish to use the churches, religions and the sentiments of the faithful as pawns in their militaristic-martial plans. The responsible role of our socially progressive forces, both those at work in People's Poland and, more broadly, all Christian forces allied for the cause of socialism and world peace, is, on the one hand, to give constant evidence of our presence and activism on the side of the forces of progress, peace and the policy of coexistence, whose major force is the Soviet Union, to show that Christians are ever stronger and ever more committed to the



side of those social forces that really care about human dignity, peace and social progress and justice throughout the world. On the other hand, it is to expose before Christian opinion those actions that make of religion a shield for aggressive and militaristic activity that conflicts with the good of man, to organize a broad front for peace and European security and to build the all-European and worldwide solidarity of the Christians of the various churches and religions in order to censure that greatest moral ill that is the policy that leads to war and to the destruction of what is the most cherished--the sacred gift of human life.

The experiences of the 40-year history of People's Poland show that there is a calculable interrelationship between the Christian's acceptance of and participation in implementing the principles of socialism in our country and the facilitation of the performance of his religious calling in the country building socialism. The more open Christianity is to socialism, the more extensive dialogue and cooperation, the greater its role in building a new life and in creating a more humanistic world. Conversely, socially conservative, integralistic views founded upon waiting socialism out, if not entering into a direct struggle with it, restrict the possibilities for realizing the mission of churches and Christianity as a whole in the countries of real socialism.

There are still many people today that have their gaze fixed on the past alone and do not wish to perceive the opportunity afforded by this phenomenon of history both on the national and overall human plane. They are only too willing to bring up only the common prejudices, weaknesses and difficulties that still occur; their intentions are clearly political. They do not wish to overcome divisions, but to preserve them; they do not wish understanding regarding temporal affairs, but an enervating struggle. For us, the Christian Left, this contact years ago became the fruitful beginning of ideological action and social service on behalf of the joint creation of the socialist reality that preserved and respected different world views. Since the fortunes of peace are so threatened, in addition to the internal plane, there exists today the plane of cooperation between Christians and communists that wish to combine their efforts to repulse the danger of war. For us, the Christian doctrine of peace signifies a command to join together people of good will of all affiliations and ideological views. But contact between Christians and the socialist world also engenders other hopes and expectations on the universal and international level. Poland, a country with a great Christian tradition and a component part of the socialist community, represents a sphere of important experiences in this field. Their positive development impacts not only on the shape of church-state relations in Poland and on the shape of the religious policy of the people's state, not only on the principles of coexistence and cooperation between the faithful and nonbelievers, but also on the content of European and, I do not hesitate to say, world Christianity. The example of Poland, in which the issues of role and place in the new system of Christianity are resolved positively within the framework of socialism and on its foundation, in which Christians participate creatively in intellectual, production, social and cultural affairs to strengthen and develop socialism--this example will help those nations that are made up primarily of believers and that are either in the process of forming their

socialist path of development or will be doing this in the future. The more attractive our example and our experiences, the greater the possible impact of this on the support of Christians for the socialist changes in the countries that adopt this route. Thus, we must be aware of the responsible role of the progressive Christian movement in our country for making our experiences bear fruit increasingly in universal applications to all mankind.

In particular, the experiences of the 40-year history of People's Poland in the field of cooperation between Christians and socialism show that it must meet two supreme challenges of our times: the challenge to avert possible nuclear annihilation and the challenge to prevent social injustice.

The challenge to avert war joins all people of good will on the world front of struggle for peace, regardless of their world views and political convictions. This includes believers and nonbelievers. Then the challenge to prevent social injustice commits the Christian to participate creatively in the work of building the socialist system. The experiences of Poland, a country especially afflicted by the ravages of war and national catastrophe in the past, show that these two challenges today create a common, mutually contingent current of aims, aspirations and actions. Socialism is peace! This very briefly but very succinctly characterizes the essence of the interrelationships that exist in this current.

In the modern world, the line of the front of the struggle for peace cuts through all of humanity, as it does through all of Christianity. On the one side, in defense of the greatest good of man--life in peace--stand communists and Christians, as well as people that hold other world views. On the other side there stand in opposition to them the attempts to harness religion to the work of war and atomic annihilation, whose most cynical example is the strategy of Ronald Reagan and NATO that is anticommunist and anti-Soviet, using the sentiments of the faithful for its own purposes and aiming at the very foundations of the peaceful coexistence of nations. This strategy, which includes various variants of the so-called regional nuclear conflict in Europe, has led to the deployment of Euromissiles within the area of the NATO member states, it has wound up the armaments spiral and has fostered daydreams of the so-called "Star Wars." All this to disrupt the balance of powers and equilibrium of security; the use of the blackmail of thermonuclear war to bring the socialist world to its knees. The basic task and highest moral imperative of all Christians from the sphere of the socialist community and of all progressive forces in today's world that profess the teachings of Christ is the active and decisive opposition to these antihuman plans.

From the very inception of our movement, this supreme command has touched Christians in Poland very closely. We have always come out decisively against the danger of war and against its driving force, American imperialism. In its plans we see, especially today, a serious threat to the biological existence of the Polish people. In addition to this danger, we also perceive very clearly other dangers to Poland and socialist Europe. These include the danger associated with the more and more disturbing evolution of the political situation in the FRG. Forces are at the helm of the authority in Bonn that represent the eternal great German political ambitions. Like the once famous



Teutonic Knights under the banner of Christ, today they abuse the Christian-Democratic banner for their own antipeace and anti-Polish ends. The government of Chancellor Kohl gives its official blessing to retaliatory associations of compatriots, it proclaims the provocative idea of the existence of a supposed German minority of 1.5 million in Poland and it publicly favors the restoration of the borders of the Reich from 1937. All this in the hope of reversing the course of history and undermining the results of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, in total compliance and cooperation with the antipeace, anticommunist strategy of Reagan. All these tendencies, corrupted by the poison of revisionism and reprisal, are expressed in the ideas directed towards changing the boundaries of Europe and subverting the peaceful order established after the war. We realize that the Polish-Soviet alliance hampers these tendencies, as does the strength of the entire socialist community. The recent visit of General W. Jaruzelski to Moscow once again emphasized the firm support of the Soviet leadership for our vital national interests.

I note these dangers because the most valuable, most patriotic and most humanistic civic attitudes become crystalized in the struggle to conquer them. Our contribution towards strengthening these values is both vital and significant. Today, with the experience of the 40-year history of People's Poland and based on the conclusions drawn from this experience, there comes into view more clearly and sharply the full confirmation of the correctness of our commitment towards preserving, strengthening and continuing to develop the allies of People's Poland, including the Polish-Soviet alliance in particular. In the past as now, the friendship, cooperation and brotherly, indissoluble alliance of Poland and the Soviet Union have been the most important guarantee of the continued successful and peaceful existence of the Polish nation. The protective Warsaw Pact, of which Poland is a steadfast component part, is the major guarantee that we will overcome the dangers under consideration.

The challenge to avert a war is accompanied by another challenge of our era against social inequality and injustice. Our choice was clear, and it remains so. We have been, we are and we will be on the side of those that struggle for the full incorporation into life of the ideals of social justice. We also believe that basic realism and concern for the future of Christianity warrant the choice we have made. The growth of practical materialism, indifference to world view and ideological, cultural nihilism, as well as the breakdown of moral order--this is the situation confronting and influencing Christianity in developed capitalist countries. The statement may be made that modernday capitalism is becoming an active element in the de-Christianization of societies. Here, on our socialist side of Europe, Christianity comes into contact with ideas of justice, progress and peace that are akin to it, being tied in not with degradation, but with the development of man, the development of his spiritual, moral and intellectual values. I do not wish to undervalue differences in world view that serve to enrich our intellectual movement and our intellectual life. However, I would like to express the conviction that, although differences in world view remain and ought not to be obliterated, since they are the route for their proponents and an important value for them, as socialism progresses and class conflicts

subside, differences in world view will exert less and less influence over the solution of sociopolitical, economic and cultural problems. We have enough matters to resolve in our earthly life to encumber social and political life with conflicting world views or, worse, with battles over world views.

The commitment of Christians to socialism is taking place on a broader and broader scale in developing countries, in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Here the example comes to mind of the involvement of the Christians of Nicaragua on the side of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in the heroic struggle this nation is waging against native and foreign intervention. There are also the examples of the fruitful cooperation of the Cuban and Vietnamese Catholics with the new people's authority.

It is a sign of our times that, on all continents, more and more numerous throngs of the faithful are committing themselves to Leftist social movements aimed at realizing social justice and peace. In Latin America, the impact of Christian groups opposed to the degeneration of capitalism and neocolonialism, supporting liberation movements and calling for joint action with all democratic and progressive forces is growing continually. The guiding motive of the work of the Christian Left is the conviction expressed succinctly by the famous Spanish theologian, Father Gonzales Ruis, that a true evangelical church cannot be tied in structurally with a capitalist-type society. Today there is no other alternative than socialism. Whoever understands religion in a different way and uses it for socially harmful purposes creates an obvious abuse and undermines the very essence of Christianity.

On the basis of our own experiences and those of others, let us stress clearly that there is no Christian politics. The concept of the so-called third road has not been verified socially. It has become an anachronism. Meanwhile, the number of Christians committed to the unceasing, progressive process of improving the world directed towards socialist solutions is growing. This process is being received among Marxists much more openly and favorably.

As Wladyslaw Gomulka stated in one of his speeches: "The idea that only communists, only people with materialistic social views, can build socialism is faulty." Confirming this train of thought, General W. Jaruzelski recently addressed this same question: "Socialism cannot be built without the Marxist-Leninist party. But communists alone will not build it. Without the active participation of society, it is impossible to implement farreaching systemic changes." These ideas are an expression of the consistent direction of policy of the PZPR and the Government of the Polish People's Republic. It is a policy that articulates the will to create good terms for cooperation on the various planes of the public and social life of progressive communities and organizations of Christians and Catholics. It is a policy that has been confirmed especially in the practice of recent years. We value these efforts and this direction of the government of General W. Jaruzelski. We see in this an expression of the new experiences of socialism and the working party, impacted on by the social realities generated by the Polish Christian Left. Thus, this confirms for us the validity of our socio-ideological path over the 40-year history of People's Poland. As I have noted, a concrete confirmation of these new phenomena and of the broader estimation of the allies for the

cause of socialism, regardless of world view, is the coalition formula of PRON and the openness of this movement in the direction of all those that, regardless of party affiliation or world view ties, desire to serve the good of socialist Poland. These new phenomena are also confirmed in the broader participation of independents, including progressive Christians and Catholics, in the new people's councils.

The process of the socialist renewal of our life gradually is finding a broader and broader base in various circles and social communities. From the very beginning, our movement has been committed actively to the work of the democratic and socialist reforms in our country. The goal of these reforms is to create systems-type, legal guarantees preventing a recurrence of crisis phenomena, of the deformations and mistakes committed before August 1980. Their goal is also to ward off conditions favoring the operation of those forces that would use democracy for destructive ends and for destroying the socialist state.

In the current domestic and international situation, in our opinion, which problems and directions of action demand our special activism?

The continued operation and support of the work of democratic reforms and the strengthening of conditions for the cooperation of society in making decisions about the affairs of the nation and state are indispensable. However, since the price of the renewal and democratization cannot be a weak state, it is necessary for the state to be strong, efficient, democratic, law-abiding and just. Here we must counteract the tendencies to oppose the national consciousness to the state consciousness. Based on our past and our recent experiences, we are aware that our nation must have a strong state.

The developing contacts and relations of our Association with the Christians of socialist countries, with the churches, the social and international organizations and the political parties serve the cause of strengthening the ties of friendship with our neighbors and allies. In them we see an important element of rapprochement between our nations and states as well as an expression of the need to cooperate in the face of common dangers--those caused by the policy of the United State and NATO--on behalf of peace and European and world security. We will continue to expand and strengthen these relations and this cooperation, which have both an ecumenical-Christian dimension and a sociopolitical and international dimension.

The fostering of good relations between church and state, founded upon mutual respect, understanding and tolerance, upon the welfare of the nation as a whole, is a vital issue both for us and for all of social life. We would like harmony and good mutual relations, founded upon the mutual understanding of the supreme reasons of nations and states, to serve social integration and civic cooperation and to ensure proper conditions for the pastoral mission of the church. The church in Poland, desiring to serve the common good, always has been associated with the nation, in good and evil. This is so today. This was expressed both by Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński when he was primate and by his successor, Father Józef Glemp. Nonetheless, the attempts embarked upon in Poland and abroad to oppose the church to the state cannot but be disturbing.

Even more disturbing are the attempts to make the church into a political force to represent society before its own people's authority. This would be detrimental to the stability of life in Poland and to the church itself.

For ourselves we envisage important obligations in the field of molding a political culture based on tolerance and dialogue that rules out a ruinous struggle on behalf of religious causes and reasons of world view, especially today, when the primary issue is to unite people to overcome the effects of our crisis and the social divisiveness that paralyzes activism. Our movement is made up of many religions. It groups together Catholics and the faithful of other religions that belong to other churches. Unity on social issues is attended by religious diversity and the need for mutual respect and regard for this diversity. This ecumenical value of our movement, expressed in the building of community while respecting diversity, has a broader dimension on the plane of social life. Christian ecumenism leads to social ecumenism. The opposite value is hegemony or the monopolistic tendencies that are still rampant in some Catholic circles. The ChSS [Christian Social Association], implementing the ecumenical, multid denominational formula as a noncompetitive direction, is instrumental in disseminating the ideological-moral values emanating therefrom in the social and civic field.

The state of the national economy, although improving, requires that all forces and authorities help to step up the production process. First we must produce the necessary goods and only then can we distribute them. Unfortunately, it often happens that interest focuses on the distribution end and not on what must be done to facilitate production. We believe that a society-wide movement is needed today on behalf of production, on behalf of activating all types of production that help to build a stable market and serve consumer needs. We will embark upon the appropriate initiatives regarding this matter. We must note the important role to be played in this field by the clergy, who can hark back to the familiar, broad traditions of civic work, to the various eminent representatives of Christianity in our country. This is an important area today of the use of the moral-ethical values of Christianity, of the building of the spirit of work, responsibility and thrift based on evangelical principles. Patriotic responsibility for getting our economy moving creates the need to impose greater responsibility on the clergy in their social and moral teachings and to increase requirements in the moral-upbringing work of the Polish clergy, in the spirit of molding views that are civically creative, in the spirit of civic work and the activation of all types of production of the material goods that are indispensable for the nation.

We envisage the next task to be the stepping up of the process of understanding and socioeconomic stabilization in the name of the supreme good of the Homeland, of regaining those people that are lost and ideologically frustrated, those that are indecisive, stand on the sidelines, but love Poland. They must be helped to find themselves, to become active cocreators of their own fates and the fate of the nation. PRON, which has become an important plane of political and social cooperation with the leading force of our country, the PZPR, together with other political parties and organizations, plays a major role in this field. We attribute great importance to its growth and development, since it creates the proper conditions for partnerly cooperation towards understanding

and building upon those forces that it joins together, toward the supreme good. PRON has become a coalition of social and political forces, independent of differences in world view and opinion, that wish to cooperate to lead Poland out of the crisis and to implement democratic relations on a permanent basis. As for the sometimes voiced tendencies and demands to open some sort of "new dialogue," or even a new compromise opening the way for a supposedly real understanding, this direction would lead us astray into new conflicts. I refer to those that speak of the need for a new compromise, not about dialogue that would move Polish issues forward. Dialogue is taking place and it continually yields new results. Those [that speak of the need for a new compromise] are trying to circumvent the already formulated plane of understanding and civic cooperation defined by the PRON declaration and the resolutions of the congress of this movement. The intentions of those people are clear; they are at cross purposes with the irreversible direction of Poland's development. Here we meet with attempts to divert the necessary process of democratic reforms away from the path of socialist development and to clear a path for the forces and tendencies that so recently threatened the existence of our state. We paid too high a price for their activity, as we did for the pre-August mistakes and deformations, to give our approval today to actions that do not fit within the framework of national and state responsibility. That is why we have spoken out firmly for a long time in favor of the broadest possible societal support of the political line of General W. Jaruzelski that expresses the aspirations and demands of modern Polish patriotism.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that, in light of both the development of the internal situation in Poland and the changes and processes taking place in the world, our duty is to expand and enrich in our country, as well as to disseminate on an international scale, the positive experiences that we have achieved as a result of the contact between socialism and Christianity in Poland. Today these experiences and their results serve to strengthen understanding and civic cooperation over and above differences and the divisions that exist. They create a foundation for raising this process, along with church-state relations, to a new, higher level. This conforms with the vital interests of Poland.

We are certain that the world will develop in the direction of social progress and justice, in the direction of socialist solutions. Thus, everything possible must be done to enable Christianity, free from all one-sided political ties, to recover its developmental perspective under socialist conditions on a broader and broader scale. We wish to serve these causes.

8536

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# PARTY LAWYERS URGE STRICTER ADHERENCE TO IDEOLOGY

Warsaw PANSTWO I PRAWO in Polish No 9, Sep 84 pp 128-131

[Article by Jerzy Karlinski and Witold Modzelewski: "The State of Legal Sciences and Their Tasks in the Process of Socialist Renewal" (Report from a conference of party lawyers, Warsaw 2-3 June 1984)]

[Text] The conference was organized by the Team of Party Lawyers at the Science and Education Section of the PZPR Central Committee, within the framework of preparations for the National Social Sciences Party Conference planned for the end of October 1984. Nearly 100 independent scientific workers from the faculties of law and administration and from the PAN Institute of State and Law, as well as practicing representatives of the law, participated in it. The guests of the conference were: Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary M. Milewski, and Director of the Science and Education Section of the Central Committee B. Ratus. M. Milewski presented to the gathering the current sociopolitical situation in the country and answered numerous questions.

The introductory report, "The State of Legal Sciences and Their Tasks in the Process of Socialist Renewal," was delivered by the Director of the Team of Party Lawyers of the Science and Education Section of the Central Committee, Prof S. Zawadzki. The theses of the report had been sent to the conference participants prior to the deliberations.

Twenty speakers took part in the discussion. Among the problems discussed, the following gained the greatest attention: the ideological problems of the legal sciences; the evaluation of the state of particular legal disciplines; the influence of scientific communities on the law-making process; the relation between theory and practice against the background of the problems of criminal policy; the question of international scientific cooperation; the evaluation of the sociopolitical situation in academic communities.

The discussion assigned a high rank to the need to undertake work on controversial problems in legal sciences, particularly those which occur against the background of visible ideological controversies in legal sciences. The following, among others, were considered to be major controversial problems requiring further comprehensive studies: the problems of the socialist system of values, the question of the class character of the socialist state, the mechanism of power in the socialist state, the questions of the legitimization



of power in People's Poland, the role of self-government in a socialist state, and the concept of national property against the background of the new legal position of the state enterprise. The above-listed doctrinal questions require deeper theoretical thought by the representatives of legal sciences. It is unacceptable to stand still in the ossified and intellectually unattractive theoretical position; it results in lameness of argumentation and inability to debate with non-Marxist orientations. Only creative Marxism can assure the development of the theory and scientific progress. Scientific discussions were found to be the proper plane of debate and exchanging views with representatives of other political doctrines (Z. Salwa, T. Fuks). K. Buchala spoke in favor of the necessity of developing axiological studies in legal sciences, seeing in the resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR the point of departure for penal sciences. He justified the need to return to the sources of Marxism and to the basic values of socialism. The study of the socioeconomic relations between the social system and the institutions of the political system were found to be an important problem facing legal science (F. Siemienski).

The participants in the discussion devoted much attention to the problems of the state of particular disciplines of legal sciences, stressing that despite an overwhelmingly positive evaluation there still exist many fields of research which are insufficiently explored from the point of view of theory. Among these were: 1) in the theory of state and law--questions of anthropology and the general theory of social development, the theory of socialist democracy, the problems of the coalition system of the exercising of power (J. Kowalski); 2) in international law--the general theory of international law, particularly socialist international law, the lack of a theoretical structural base in the mutual relations of the CEMA states (H. de Fiumel); 3) in constitutional law--the lack of studies concerning the State Council and the public prosecutor's office (M. Rybicki), the lack of a broader generalization of the theoretical facts of the system taking place in the years 1980-1983 (H. Rot).

In reference to the theses of the introductory report, the majority of the participants in the discussion emphasized the importance of the relations between the science of law and the practice of creating law. The realization of the process of consultation on draft laws with the scientific milieu raised reservations. The participants in the discussion asserted that not only in past years, but also at present, the influence of the scientific community on the legislative practice is insufficient, and the mutual relations between these spheres are too weak. The following were cited as examples of the lack of consultation: the draft law on the Supreme Court (M. Rybicki, A. Murzynowski) and the regulations concerning the principles of the enterprise wage system (Z. Salwa).

Substantive reservations were voiced with regard to the proposed solutions on the draft law on the Supreme Court (A. Murzynowski, M. Rybicki, K. Korzon). It was pointed out that it is not in agreement with some PZPR documents on the Supreme Court (the question of tenure, and the procedure for appointing the first chairman of the Supreme Court, among others). M. Rybicki emphasized the

principle of the inclusion of regulations concerning the Supreme Court in the norms regarding the general jurisdiction.

M. Sawczuk and J. Paliwoda raised the problems of the unity of the system of law and the need to prevent its dispersion. The conformity of lower acts with statutes was also given much attention (K. Korzon). J. Skupinski submitted the motion that the Team of Party Lawyers of the Science and Education Section of the Central Committee prepare appropriate principles of consulting legislative projects with scientific communities.

The problem of essential defects of the legislative practice of the past few years was raised in the discussion. Z. Salwa spoke about the overly hasty implementation of some regulations of labor law (earlier retirement, longer maternity leaves, third degree disability pensions). The need to take into greater consideration in legislative practice the character of the recipient of the legal norms (which was illustrated by examples from agricultural law) was emphasized. Deficiencies in the new cooperative law were stressed (J. Paliwoda).

J. Bafia pointed out the need for criminal law to work out a contemporary model of execution of sentences. This model, however, ought to take Polish reality into consideration. Polish criminology has achievements to its credit; nevertheless, not infrequently it adopts without criticism the views of U.S. criminologists, which were formed in completely different conditions. The phenomenon of a dogmatic treatment of certain concepts, for example the crime syndrome, by criminology and penal science is a cause for worry.

The use of the thesis of the need to increase sanctions in criminal policy was viewed with criticism (A. Murzynowski). After all, the fight with crime must be treated in a complex way, keeping under consideration prevention, resocialization, and a modernization of penal institutions, among others. Carrying out a sentence in overcrowded institutions, insufficiently serviced from the educational point of view, creates permanent and disadvantageous phenomena. The speaker stressed the need to improve and develop the functions of the socialist state, including the priority given to cultural-educational functions, abandoning force on behalf of persuasion, the political influence, and the development of socialist democracy. Many difficulties and mistakes result from making force an absolute necessity. With reference to the report, the speaker observed that the evaluations of the past ought to constitute food for thought, nevertheless one ought to turn much more toward the future. The economic reform assumes transformations in the superstructure. Legal sciences do not have a program of action in this regard. Hence the uncontested need to create a theoretical superstructure for the reform of the legal system.

The problems of self-management were the subject of interest for many participants in the discussion. They asserted that those problems are outside the set of problems of administrative law and the science of constitutional law ought to take them up on a broader scale (A. Murzynowski, T. Fuks).



Sharing the views presented in the report, A. Lopatka stated that international scientific cooperation must not contribute to the weakening of the position of Marxism. He postulated the restoration of contacts between law faculties of socialist states. He pointed out the need for cooperation with developing countries. Contacts with capitalist states must also be restored, with attention being paid, however, to conformity between the foreign exchange and the PRL scientific policy and Polish foreign policy. In his statement, A. Lopatka devoted much time to the question of the popularization of Polish achievements in legal sciences on the international arena.

In connection with this, he emphasized the need for publications designed for foreign readers. The constitution and the whole of the Polish legal code ought to be published in foreign languages.

With reference to the theses of the report, the role of research serving the integration of legal sciences with other social sciences was pointed out (J. Kowalski, M. Sawczuk). The problems of the scientific character of research, experiments, and their theoretical and methodological implications were described by T. Kaczmarek. Simplifications in theoretical studies and the use of naive empirical studies were viewed with criticism. Too many scientists pay excessive attention to the broadening of the research technique to the detriment of the process of generalizations and synthesis. Empirical studies in the field of criminal law are often carried out in imperfect forms.

The discussion revealed differences of views on the statute on higher education of 4 May 1982 (F. Siemienski, J. Jastrzebski, K. Korzon). These reflections were closely tied to the diversified sociopolitical situation in particular academic milieus, as testified to by the election results in particular centers, among others (H. Rot, J. Jastrzebski, J. Bloch). The evaluation of the place and role of party organizations and party members in universities and in the PAN constituted a separate trend of the discussion (T. Fuks).

Closing the deliberations, Prof S. Zawadzki emphasized that the policy of consistent implementation of socialist renewal and the tightening of the bond between the science and practice of creating and using the law, will influence the further development of legal sciences.

The speaker also characterized the factors threatening the process of renewal, expressed in the trends toward abusing the self-government of schools of higher education for purposes contrary to the statute on higher education. One must expect that general progress in the normalization of social life in the country will promote the process of normalization of the functioning of universities. The legal community ought to have a considerable part in this process.

12270

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## BRIEFS

KISZCZAK CHAIRS COMMITTEE--The Council of Ministers' Committee for the Observance of Law and Order and Public discipline, at its plenary session in Warsaw, chaired by General Czeslaw Kiszczak, has assessed the effectiveness of the committee's activities thus far and discussed the tasks that it is facing. The committee's activity has made combating crime more decisive and, as a consequence, more effective, and made it possible to eliminate sources and symptoms of aggravating social pathologies. During the year since it was established, the committee has proved its importance as a body coordinating, initiating, and supporting the activities of institutions responsible for preserving law and order. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Dec 84 LD]

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CURRENT, LONG-TERM ISSUES OF POPULATION GROWTH

Bucharest SANATATEA in Romanian Nov 84 p 5

[Article by Dr Olimpia Solomonescu, chairman of the National Commission for Demography: "Current and Long-Term Imperatives of Demographic Growth"]

[Text] Eloquent proof of the importance that our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, attach to the demographic factor in the strategy for the country's future development, the directives of the 13th congress also provide precise objectives regarding the growth of the population in the next 5-year period, it being estimated that it will reach 24 million inhabitants in 1990. Accordingly, on the basis of the country's general economic and social development, the premises are also formulated for this demographic growth through the implementation of special programs regarding the strengthening of the family, the growth of the birth rate, and mother and child care.

As is specified in the directives, the 1986-1990 5-year period will constitute a decisive stage for "our homeland's entry into a new, higher phase of its economic and social progress, strongly marked by the growth of the role of science and technology in all fields of activity."

In this framework, the contribution of scientific research is formulated as clearly as can be: "...the activity of scientific research will substantially increase its contribution to the promotion of scientific and technical progress in all fields of the national economy and social life."

In the field of analyzing demographic phenomena and processes and the trends and implications of these phenomena and processes, an important role in solving the problems that are raised by the process of multilateral economic and social development of the country also goes to scientific research. Its main directions in the demographic field follow clearly from the directives: "The research for improving the quality of life will be expanded in correlation with the development of the production forces and with the provisions for increasing the material and spiritual well-being of the whole populace. Special attention will be devoted to promoting the state of health of all citizens of the homeland, increasing longevity and the duration of active life, stimulating the birth rate and providing the natural gain in population."

The demographic field cannot remain outside the general effervescence that characterizes our scientific research in general, an effervescence fruitfully emulated by the vast scientific activity performed by Comrade Acad Dr Eng Elena Ceausescu, an activity appreciated and valued by the most prestigious scientific institutions and personalities in the whole world.

The primary objective of the steps that were taken after the expanded plenum of the Higher Health Council in the spring of this year is to raise the birth rate and provide a suitable rise in the natural gain, which means--given the expected level of 19-21 live births per 1,000 inhabitants and the relatively constant level of mortality (about 10 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants)--an annual rate of population growth of about 1 percent. This rate is in keeping with the average growth that has occurred thus far, if we refer to the evolution of the birth rate and death rate in our country both in the postwar period and in relation to the demographic situation on an international level.

The birth rate--its evolution and level--is the decisive demographic phenomenon for providing a certain rate of population growth. However, it is an extremely complex demographic phenomenon from the viewpoint of modeling the evolution, an evolution placed more and more in the sphere of the individual's interests correlated with society's development on the whole. This conscious process, of providing a certain number of births within the framework of general planning of our entire life, is well motivated by the achievement of a certain family size, which must fit the incontestable realities of our times and which cannot be omitted in planning the evolution of the phenomenon, especially on the long term. This is precisely why demographic research is called upon to furnish to the decisionmaking bodies well-substantiated elements for formulating and adopting as efficient measures as possible of an economic, health, cultural and educational nature for stimulating the birth rate. After the steps taken recently, the evolution of the phenomenon is upward. In 1985, too, the birth rate is expected to be at a higher level than that in 1983. However, there must be studies and research that indicate what must be done in order to have harmonious evolution, without fluctuations of the phenomenon over a long period of time--because variations in the birth rate can only have negative effects on a demographic and socioeconomic plane, especially as regards the evolution in prospect.

A less approached aspect, especially from a causal angle, is that of the birth rate varying according to social category. From this viewpoint, the statistical data show unequal participation by the population in demographic growth. What should be done in order to reduce the differences and achieve a greater homogenization of demographic behavior? We do not have enough data to give a complete answer to this question, and this is precisely why demographic research is called upon to thoroughly study the field, offering realistic elements and suggesting realistic solutions.

In the same context, demographic research is called upon to make a more substantial contribution to increasing the responsibility of the younger generation for establishing a family and raising a larger number of children. The role of multidisciplinary studies and research that formulate new educational

models is fundamental, and the combining of the efforts of the specialists in various disciplines and fields of activity is a necessity.

Some contradictory developments are occurring in the field of general mortality. It is clear that the current level of mortality for some causes of death cannot be considered satisfactory. We are witnessing a rise in the influence and role of the "way of life" in maintaining good health and extending the lifespan. This factor's exact place--beside the factors of heredity, environment, medical assistance and so on--and its operating mechanism await answers from demographic and sociomedical research, which--as is pointed out in the documents of our party and state--must be more rigorous and more efficient.

Infant mortality is constantly declining and the current level approaches that characteristic of the developed countries. However, the big territorial variation in the intensity of the phenomenon is relatively surprising, there being, in some counties, levels far above the national average. What are the explanatory factors? The answer to this question would be a major element for orienting the health and other measures in order to reduce the level of the phenomenon in general, and in some counties in particular, especially as some counties have valuable experience in identifying the risk factors in infant mortality, experience that must be generalized.

A far-reaching, always topical area and an indispensable instrument for planning economic and social development in general, demographic forecasting constitutes a privileged field of scientific research, and its importance is acquiring new dimensions in the light of the major role that research is called upon to play in the 1986-1990 5-year period and in the last decade of this century. The expansion of the studies for demographic forecasting on a territorial basis in particular must make a more valuable contribution to fulfilling the provisions contained in the directives of the 13th congress that refer to the rational placement of the production forces over the whole territory of the country. The problems of urbanization, as well as that of improving the age structure of the rural population and especially the active population in agriculture, a provision expressly formulated in the directives, are in a direct correlation with the evolution of the population on a territorial basis.

The directives of the 13th congress of the party, a result of the innovative thought of great political involvement of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, constitute a guide and an inexhaustible source of inspiration for those who work in the field of demographic research. The important place given to the demographic factor and to demographic problems in general in this document represents a stimulus for increasing the concerns in studying and researching the problems of population--an essential factor in economic and social progress, in the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society in our homeland.

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LETTER TO EDITOR, REPLY ON JOVAN MIRIC VIEWS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 84 pp 42, 43

[Letter from Slobodan Milacic, graduate of Josp Broz Tito Political School of SKJ, Kumrovac, and response by DANAS editor]

[Text] At the very outset I must say that I cannot agree with what the editor of DANAS has said about Jovan Miric and his writings published in BORBA. The editor of DANAS says that Professor J. Miric "is a person who, at least thus far, has not left the party or the intelligentsia". It is not clear what he means in saying that "at least thus far" J. Miric has not left the party. If we are to question the party and human integrity of J. Miric because of writings in which he never for a moment questions the fundamental values of this society, that is, if we question the human and party integrity of J. Miric on the basis of a couple of writings, then the editor of DANAS and I read and interpret SKJ [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] documents differently,

In number 139 of DANAS we read that "among the negative effects of our voluntaristically oriented economic development, which has built castles in the air, there are some other unenviable records: we are the only country in Europe with a negative growth rate; we are at the top of the European ladder in unemployment, foreign debt, inflation, and decline in the real standard of living of the population; our currency has been devaluated the most of any country in Europe."

It is to be wondered at that the editor publishing this writing could so resolutely attack a man who, I repeat, accepts all the fundamental values of this society when attempting to respond to this complex situation in our society. Of course, I make an exception for those magnificent values which Yugoslav society is creating on the firm foundation of the heritage of human civilization and emancipation.

According to the editor of DANAS, Miric is doing his writing at a "delicate moment" and may even "cause some confusion among certain segments of the Yugoslav public." We also learn from another author in this connection that Dr Miric is writing at an inconvenient moment, since the times "teem with attacks by various opponents of the socialist self-managed community

of Yugoslavia against the essential principles of development of this community, and that the enemy will also seek a base and sustenance for action against our country."

I am not at all certain that self-managed socialism in Yugoslavia will be threatened by these writings. What is a matter of greater concern to me is, for example, the fact that the highly skilled workers of the Radoje Dakic Building Materials Factory in Titograd are offering their services at the so-called Titograd employment office to provide additional security themselves and their families by working at additional jobs.

The editor of DANAS states that Jovan Miric "sought by his analysis to undermine the 1974 Constitution," and in the next paragraph also asserts that he "will not enter into assessment of Miric's analyses and theses." Thus, at one point he will not undertake to assess Miric's writings, and at another attacks him for trying to undermine the 1974 Constitution. I leave it to the readers of DANAS to evaluate such methods of engaging in polemics.

The editor of DANAS believes that "according to him (i.e., Miric), the 1974 Constitution is the root of all our present-day misfortunes, that from it emanate the evils of the splintered market, one-sided culture, republican and provincial statism, and ethnic economies, all our differences and demons, and the major republican and provincial governmental vicissitudes of the Socialist Republic of Serbia." What is of vital importance to me is that we unanimously agree that these evils exist. I see nothing wrong with Miric's belief that the roots of the evil might be found in the 1974 Constitution. Another person might find the evil in something else. One thing is certain: we must overcome these evils, and we must do so from the position of the interests of the working class and self-managed socialism.

If we disqualify a person's reflections in advance, whether we intend to or not we are working to promote these evils.

Slobodan Milacic, graduate of the Josip Broz Tito Political School of the SKJ in Kumrovac.

The welcome letter from reader Slobodan Milacic shows that he has not correctly read what I wrote. The statement "a man who, at least thus far, has not left the party or the intelligentsia" merely means that Jovan Miric has not, like Ljubisa Ristic, left the party and the intelligentsia, as he himself states. I do not know how it could be inferred that we thereby "are questioning the party and human integrity of J. Miric," or how it could be inferred that I want "resolutely to attack a man" if, as a reaction to his published writings, I express the thought that his book "favors radical revision, and even rejection, of the constitution."

Slobodan Milacic misquotes me in asserting that I criticize this scientist for writing at a "delicate moment." What I do criticize, along with many others, is BORBA for publishing these writings in the particular manner it did, taking up a huge amount of space and in 14 installments, without expressing its own position "at a delicate moment," which is, after all, not the



same thing. Slobodan Milacic also does not quote me fully in stating that "the editor of DANAS asserts that Jovan Miric intended by his analysis to undermine the 1974 Constitution...." He omits the rest of my sentence, which reads "as a forced construction created under the pressure of nationalist and separatist tendencies, as a major aberration or abandonment of the principles of the AVNOJ [Antifascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia]." Irrespective of whether I do or do not enter into an analysis of Miric's book, these assessments of the 1974 Constitution were given not by me but by Professor Jovan Miric. Since it is a question of the constitution rather than of Miric, it is proper to defend one's thought about a thought.

Lastly, in his letter Slobodan Milacic quotes words which are not mine, and this as well is not the best method of engaging in correspondence.

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END